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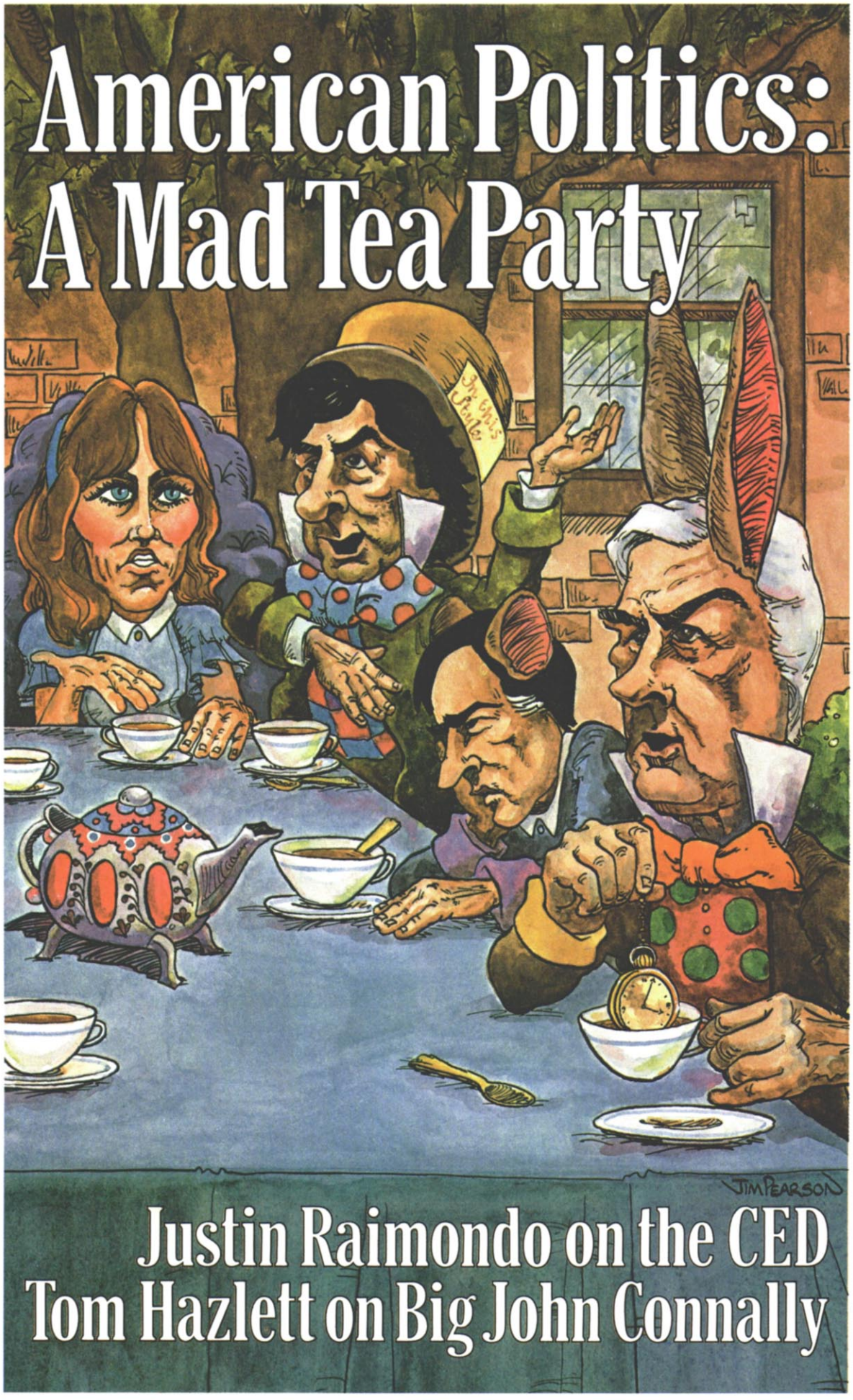
American Politics: A Mad Tea Party



Justin Raimondo on the CED
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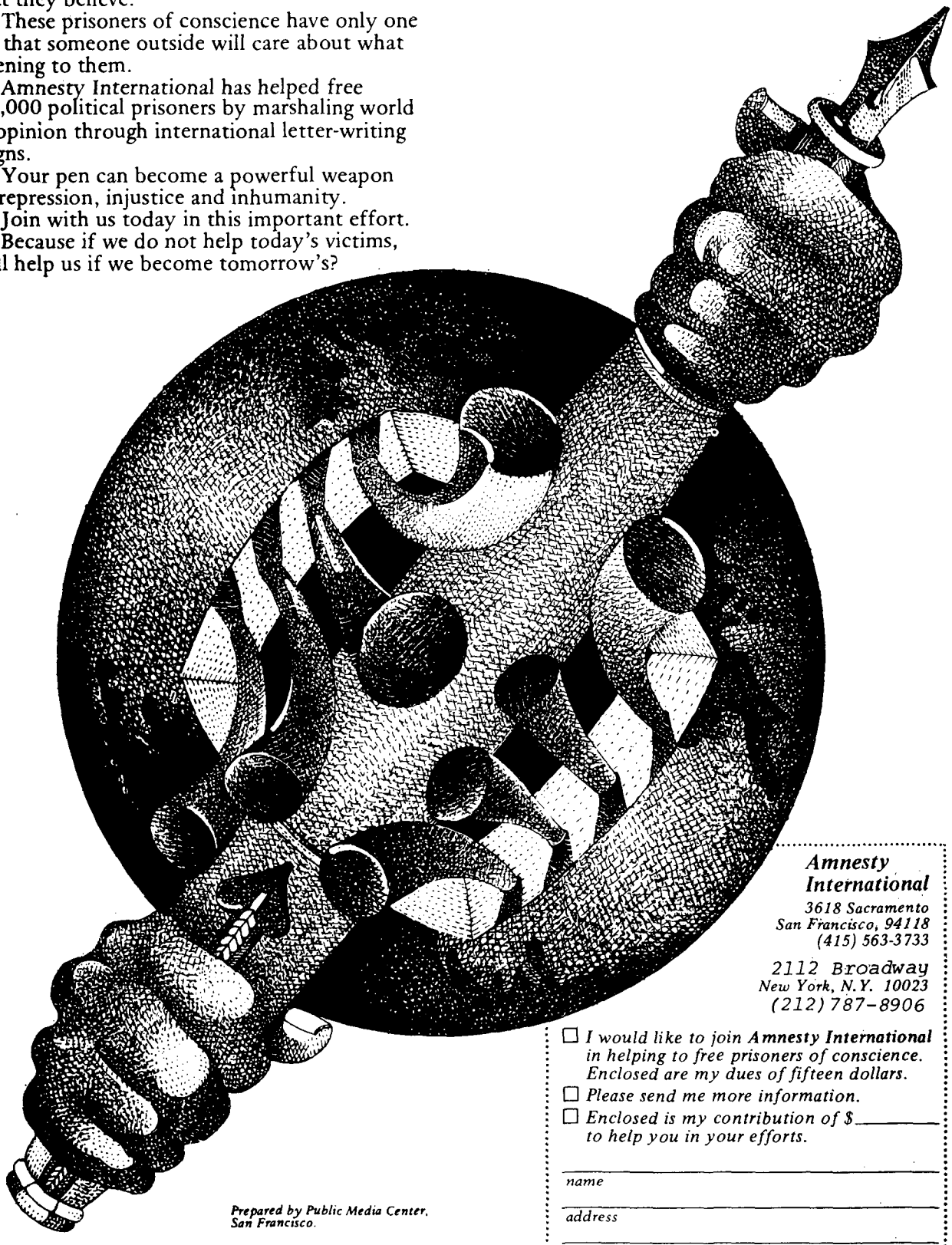

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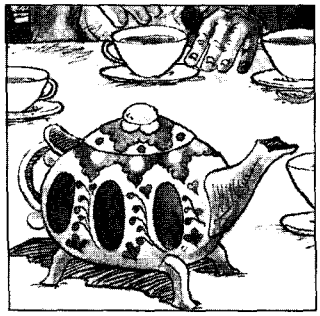

American Politics: A Mad Tea Party

Tom and Jerry, Jane, and Big John Connally have hatched plots to give away the national cookies should the public be so naive as to vote on the basis of star quality instead of issues. Justin Raimondo and Tom Hazlett go down the rabbit hole for a closer look at Wonderland.

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OPENING SHOTS

BILL BIRMINGHAM

FOR SOME YEARS now, as most of our readers know, college-bound high-school students have been scoring lower and lower on the Scholastic Aptitude Test. But according to Dr. W. Timothy Weaver of Boston University, the decline has been greatest among education majors. In 1979, says *Fortune* magazine in its report on Weaver's findings, students majoring in education averaged 420 (on the SAT scale of 200 to 800) in mathematical ability and only 392 in verbal skills, versus an average of 467 and 427 for all students. Matters are even worse on the postgraduate level. At the start of the 1970s education majors seeking admittance to graduate school scored an average of 39 points lower than other students on the math section of the Graduate Record Examination and seven points lower on the verbal section; by 1976 they trailed by 51 and 25 points. After graduate school, of course, some go on to teach undergraduates, closing the cycle and ensuring that the new federal Department of Education will always have a problem at which to throw money. Or as "Professor X," pseudonymous author of *This Sure Beats Working For A Living* and other tales of academic life, puts it: Those who can, do; those who can't, teach; those who can't teach, teach teachers.

Here we go again: "US intelligence has determined that the Soviet Union is building a new pier at the Cienfuegos naval base here in Cuba, but Carter administration officials said last night that they do not know whether it could be used for offensive purposes such as servicing Soviet submarines." (*Washington Post*, October 31, 1979.) No cause for alarm just now, then, but stay tuned for reports on the new facilities in the Havana red light district, which some officials fear could be used for servicing submarine crewmen.

Interior Secretary Cecil D. Andrus, it seems, is crotalophagic as well as coprocephalic. So it was only to be expected that when Interior Department herpetologist C. Kenneth Dodd wrote a letter of protest to the Washington, D.C. (where else?) restaurant where Andrus was wont to dine on sautéed rattlesnake, the Secretary would react by firing Mr. Dodd. (The press, we are happy to report, raised such a hue and cry that Andrus was forced to give Dodd his job back.) "Officially," observes Alan Abelson of *Barron's*, "Mr. Dodd objected to the snake steaks because the type of rattlesnake being sautéed was an endangered species. But the inside story is that he was offended, as any civilized person would be, by the fact of politicians eating rattlesnakes—which, of course, is rank cannibalism."

Just when we thought those lovable madcaps at *National Review* had broken forever with us "anarcho-totalitarians" (see Ralph Raico's article in this issue, "Conservatives on the Run," for particulars) we spotted Charles R. Kesler's report on "The Movement of Opinion on Campus" (*NR*, November 23, 1979). Emblazoned on the cover are the responses to Question 10 of NR's exclusive poll of student opinion on 12 college campuses: "Which of the following four designations most nearly describes your own political temperament," liberal, radical, indifferent, or "conservative or libertarian?" Yes, the keepers of the conservative flame have gotten back into bed—if only for a one night stand — with the "kooky" libertarians; who only six months ago they were denouncing as unregenerate enemies of civility, order, and the Crown of St. Wenceslas. How could they do such a thing? Easy; *National Review* can now trumpet that "Conservatism [sic] is on the rise at 11 out of 12 campuses."

Effective immediately, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare will not accept any policy statement, document or memorandum contaminated by "gender-specific terminology." Among the terms "dissanctioned" by HEW—or is it HW now? — are "he," "she," "manmade," "womankind," "mother" (What? Childbearing is now sexist? Someone should tell HEW it's not nice to fool Parent Nature), and "batboy"—"which," says the *Washington Post*, "has been changed —except in the American and National Leagues—to 'bat person.'" Actually we suppose "gender-free" language is a not unpraiseworthy cause, but there are so many other words that HEW should purge from its vocabulary, such as "tax," "spend," "regulate," "subsidize," and "exist."

False Dawn of Libertarianism Department: "President Anwar el-Sadat [according to the *New York Times*, May 13, 1979] said today that he no longer expected Saudi Arabia to finance the purchase of 50 American jet fighters for Egypt, and would ask the American people to raise the money for them by public subscription." We gave at the office.

On October 30, the Treasury Department ruled that Mexican farmers, who supply nearly half of the coun-

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'WELL, "IT'S AN ILL WIND..." AS THEY SAY!'

try's winter vegetables, are not "dumping" their produce at less than cost. Had it ruled otherwise and imposed the punitive tariffs the law requires, inflation czar Alfred Kahn estimated that food prices could have risen by half a percentage point. But an attorney for a group of Florida growers, who had sought an anti-Mexican ruling out of a pure desire to serve the public weal and crush their only competitors in the winter vegetable market, declared the decision monstrous and "political." "A lot of Florida farmers will go out of business if Mexicans keep [sic] selling below cost," said Howard Feldman, the attorney. "At the end we will have an extinct domestic industry." Why Feldman thinks the Mexican growers could sell below cost any longer than Florida growers is unclear, but obviously he includes political economy in his rejection of things political.

National Review heard John Connally being interviewed on WINS radio last September, where he promised that he would run a Clean Campaign against Teddy Kennedy, yes indeed. Asked about the infamous milk fund scandal, Big John replied: "Milk fund scandal! Well, what about it? I was tried and found not guilty. I never drowned anybody. I wasn't kicked out of college for cheating." ... Columnist William Safire has rediscovered a little-remembered incident from the Pretender's law school days: the time he was convicted of reckless driving down in Charlottesville, Virginia and fined $35. One night in 1958, it seems, Deputy Sheriff T.M. Whitten caught Teddy speeding; but instead of pulling over and accepting his ticket he turned off his lights and tried to run for it. At the end of the chase Kennedy pulled into a driveway, killed his engine and hid on the front seat in a vain attempt to escape arrest. This, Safire believes, shows "a pattern of character" fully consistent with his behavior at Harvard and Chappaquiddick: "When in big trouble, Ted Kennedy's repeated history has been to run, to hide, to get caught, and to get away with it." ... Even wee Jimmy Carter (made bold by desperation, no doubt) mocked Teddy for asking his Mommy's permission to run. To which the Chappaquiddick Kid replied: "I should have said: 'I wonder if you listen to your brother as much as I listened to mine.'"

It is a paradox of American politics that Congress, which rails unceasingly against "the Imperial Presidency," nevertheless continues to give the chief executive ever more power. The President's new "standby gas rationing" authority is a case in point. Under the new law Congress would have 30 days to review a proposed rationing plan, after which it would automatically be approved unless both houses rejected it. But apparently Congress was afraid to keep even that much power. The Emperor —beg pardon: the President —would be able to veto the rejection, and Congress could override only by a two-thirds majority. This, according to Louisiana Senator J. Bennett Johnston, Jr., "would assure that all but the most outrageous plan would be approved." Johnston, mind you, not only *supported* the standby-rationing bill, but was its floor manager in the Senate.

Profiles in Courage: Senator Milton Young (R-ND) has a sure-fire method of avoiding the wrath of anti-abortion constituents: he agrees with them. *The Washington Monthly* ("Mail Fraud on Capitol Hill," October 1979) quotes his response to a fake anti-abortion letter concocted by the magazine: "I appreciated hearing from you and learning of your opposition on abortion. I thought you would be pleased to know that I have strongly supported the position you take. I have been a co-sponsor of a resolution in the Senate proposing a Human Life Amendment since the Supreme Court issued its decision liberalizing abortion almost six years ago." Doesn't this outrage pro-choice constituents? Not at all. He sends them such missives as: "I appreciated hearing from you" etc. "I agree with you that a woman should have a right to decide whether or not to have an abortion." ❑

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THE LIBERTARIAN EDITORIALS

The crisis in Iran

IT IS TOO EARLY to tell whether we are indeed on the road to war in the Middle East. Even if we are not, we must surely be regarded as taking another step along the road which will sooner or later take us to war. The tensions and instabilities are increasing in country after country. Militant Islam has awakened, and its confrontation with the consequences of decades of Western intervention in the Middle East will have results no one can foretell. As we go to press, the situation is darkening, words on both sides more brooding and harsh, threats escalating, and there are echoes in the air of the earlier crises which catapulted the world into war twice before in this century.

"MAY USE FORCE, U.S. WARNS," read the banner headline in the *Los Angeles Times* of Wednesday, November 21. The *New York Times* headlined: "U.S. WARNS IT HAS 'OTHER REMEDIES' IF DIPLOMACY FAILS ON HOSTAGES; CARRIER FORCE HEADS TOWARD IRAN." Demonstrations erupted both in America and the Middle East; angry Americans carried signs urging "Nuke Iran"; Iranian flags were burned, and Iranian students beaten and threatened with deportation. Demonstrations larger than any since the fall of the Shah rocked Iran; mobs sacked the U.S. embassy in Pakistan, and the Ayatollah Khomeini called it "a great joy."

"The White House, reacting to the likelihood that American hostages still in Iran will be tried as spies, warned for the first time Tuesday [November 20] that the United States may resort to military force if all else fails," reported the *L.A. Times*. "Reinforcing the warning, the Pentagon ordered the 81,000-ton carrier Kitty Hawk, which carries 85 jet fighters and attack aircraft, along with a substantial naval escort, to sail to the Indian Ocean from its base at Subic Bay in the Philippines. The Kitty Hawk will join a U.S. task force headed by the 64,000-ton carrier Midway, which is already in the Arabian Sea, about 600 miles from Iran's southern coast." (11/21/79)

But Khomeini did not budge. "This is not a struggle between the United States and Iran," he thundered. "It is a struggle between Islam and blasphemy. Now that we claim our rights, they threaten us with their warships and planes. Why should we be afraid? We consider martyrdom a great honor." Claiming that the remaining Americans being held in the U.S. embassy in Teheran (occupied since November 4) would be tried as spies if the Shah were not shipped back to Iran to answer for his crimes, Khomeini mocked the President, and while Iranian mobs shouted "Death to Carter!" the Moslem leader claimed that the beleaguered President "lacked the guts to engage in a military operation."

Provocations escalated on both sides. While a trickle of hostages was slowly released—blacks and women—the Moslem students who seized the American embassy showed no signs of giving in to the threats, threats which were backed up with action: the storming into the area of American warships, the cutoff of all imports of Iranian oil ordered by Carter, the suspended sale of military spare parts to Iran, the jailing and initiated deportation proceedings against Iranians with illegal papers, and, most chilling of all, if only because it has only happened in the past as a prelude to war, the freezing of Iran's assets in this country and, in strict violation of international law, in American banks abroad as well. It was a freeze on Japanese assets in the United States which finally provoked the attack on Pearl Harbor, the final step in Roosevelt's "back door to war" in 1941.

The assault on the U.S. Embassy in Teheran did not come about unprovoked. The November 4 seizure of the Embassy and of more than sixty hostages was a direct response to Carter's decision to admit the deposed Shah of Iran to the United States in late October. On November 1, the Ayatollah Khomeini went on Iranian radio to remind students that November 4 was the first anniversary of a violent street demonstration of the year before, urging the students to "expand with all their might their attacks on the United States and Israel, so they may force the United States to return the deposed and cruel Shah." When they grabbed the Embassy, he was at first taken aback, but then supported their action.

The background of the Iranian crisis is so complicated, so steeped in the history of U.S.-Iranian relations for the past quarter century and of the whole growing Middle East conflict, that it would take more than an editorial to disentangle the events and policies which have now nearly exploded into open warfare—and we will devote an article to the subject in our next issue. In the meantime, let us remember a few crucially important

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facts, and assess what the American response to the holding of the hostages in Iran should be. And above all, let us not fuel the fires of war by indulging in blind, jingoistic and uninformed response.

That the events which have so shaken the world did *not* come as a surprise to the Carter administration is perhaps the best starting point. The Carter administration had been debating whether or not to give the Shah asylum in the U.S. for at least nine months, facing a good deal of pressure from such key figures as our Secretary of State-in-exile, Henry Kissinger, and David Rockefeller, longtime friend of the Shah and Chairman of the Chase Manhattan bank. At least as early as July, as documents released by the Iranian students in the U.S. embassy show, the Carter administration began to consider the consequences for that embassy and its personnel when—*when,* not *if*—the Shah was admitted to the U.S. The documents show a concern that the embassy could not be protected from a likely assault, and that the personnel were indeed vulnerable.

The decision to admit the Shah was made despite the fact, as the *New York Times* has shown, that "Mr. Carter and his senior policy advisers had known for months that to admit the Shah might endanger Americans at the Embassy in Teheran. An aide reported that at one staff meeting, Mr. Carter had asked, 'When the Iranians take our people in Teheran hostage, what will you advise me then?" The important word here is *"when"* — there was no question in Carter's mind as to what would be the Iranian response. Carter chose to risk the lives of Americans anyway, buckling under pressure from Kissinger, Rockefeller, and a host of others who have played a key role in shaping American foreign policy toward Iran over the last few decades. Admitting the Shah was a red flag waved before the Iranians; whether the provocation was *deliberately intended* to produce the response we saw is a question to which we will return next month. But no one can question the fact that the consequences of admitting the Shah were known well in advance.

Needless to add, this does not justify the seizure of the American embassy and the taking of hostages; there are good reasons to have diplomatic immunity and to violate it is an offensive, immoral action which not only contravened international law and violated the precepts of the prophet Mohammed, but was technically an act of war. Let us also remember the cause of the Iranian anger toward the American government: in 1953, it was the U.S. government, through the CIA, which installed the Shah in power, and which continued to back him for more than twenty-five years. That government, and its bankrupt foreign policy, should be held partially responsible for the Shah's crimes against his own people. The fact is that the Shah is a disgusting monster, a man given to torture, murder and theft. He killed an estimated 60,000 Iranians during his reign (in addition to thousands of Kurds, in which respect Khomeini has bloodily followed in his footsteps), and when he left the country last January, he and his corrupt family took billions of dollars — perhaps as much as $20-billion — with them. The Shah is indeed, as the Iranian students have been shouting, a murderer and a thief, and they are justified in wanting him back. We should no more offer him asylum than we should Pol Pot or Idi Amin. There is nothing "humanitarian" in giving such a man asylum, and the additional political point being currently pushed by figures like Rockefeller and Kissinger—that if we cannot provide a safe haven for the Shah, other dictators might have second thoughts about our support — is no excuse, either. That ought to cause us to stop supporting dictators everywhere, not to give deposed tyrants a "safe haven," so that they will feel more secure in exercising their tyranny.

Moreover, Zalmay Khalizad, writing in the *Wall Street Journal,* has told us that "Khomeini has been obsessed with fear of an

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American sponsored military coup, as the conditions deteriorate in the country." (11/14/79) We should realize that in light of our record, that is no idle fear on Khomeini's part. Khomeini is convinced that the U.S. admission to the Shah on medical grounds is a pretext and a sham, and that in fact what is going on is a plot to return him or someone else to power in Iran. In view of the prominence of Kissinger and David Rockefeller in bringing the Shah into the U.S., that is no idle fear, either.

Nevertheless, we must not give in to blackmail. What we should do instead is to tell Khomeini just that, tell the Shah to leave, and understand that the crisis in which we currently find ourselves is the inevitable result of an interventionist foreign policy carried out in an increasingly unstable world. We should therefore couple the exit of the Shah with an assurance to Khomeini that we do not intend to interfere in Iran's internal affairs. As the crisis eases, as we hope it will, and the hostages are released, we should take the additional steps of closing the American embassy in Teheran, removing our diplomatic mission — assurances from the Iranian government now mean absolutely nothing — and warn other Americans in Iran that they remain there at their own risk.

Beyond that, we ought to systematically examine the events which led up to the Iranian crisis, understand that continuation of an interventionist foreign policy will lead to greater crises in the future, culminating in war—if, indeed, we manage to avoid it this time — and agitate for a peaceful, noninterventionist foreign policy. The examination of the crisis' roots, we shall take up next month; the agitation for nonintervention and peace should begin today.

—RAC

Chad Green, R.I.P.

THE LONG SAGA OF Chad Green has ended. The three-year-old has died in Tijuana, Mexico, where his parents had fled with him rather than acquiesce to the will of Massachusetts authorities. The boy's parents, Diana and Gerald Green, favored the use of Laetrile as a weapon against cancer, opposed the use of chemotherapy and other now-standard drugs, and determined that they would sooner take their chances, and Chad's, elsewhere, in exile. This, even though the accepted wisdom instructs us that three out of four children suffering from acute lymphocytic leukemia (ALL) are cured nowadays by state-of-the-art therapy.

Evidently the child had been taken off Laetrile too, some two months ago, as well as off the "standard" drugs. Chad's grandfather, Hollis Green, said that Chad "closed his eyes, just like going to sleep, and he was gone ... no pain ... no screaming... no crying."

Chad is dead but his parents' battle with Authority continues. As of this writing, the officialdom of Massachusetts has yet to decide whether to continue its efforts to prosecute them.

On the surface the case would appear to be one pitting an untried, quite possibly quixotic approach to the treatment of cancer against the best opinions of medical science. Most of the media coverage of the Green case over the many months prior to the boy's death focused on that aspect, with both supporters of Laetrile and opponents of the peach- and apricot-pit derivative reiterating their beliefs endlessly.

But the real issue is something else entirely: it is nothing less than the locus of authority in the lives of minors, and, by extension, the locus of authority in the lives of everyone in this country. We no longer believe in the divine right of kings, and few Americans believe, these days, in the divine right (or even the unquestionable wisdom) of clergymen. But we *do* tend very strongly to believe in the unsurpassed wisdom of the medical establishment, from the high priests (the psychiatrists) down to the altar boys (those practicing the more mundane specialties). If the great men say chemotherapy, and only the presumed crack-pots say Laetrile, then obviously it is the duty of all right-minded people to come down hard on the likes Diana and Gerald Green and just as energetically support the proclamations of the great men. Not so? Not necessarily.

Chad Green and his parents returning to the hospital where Chad was forced to undergo chemotherapy treatments.

Dr. Thomas Szasz, who still toils with few allies in the vineyards of rational antipathy to the Religion of Medicine, made a significant point to me way last winter, in an earlier stage of the Chad Green story. Dr. Szasz observed that the State had not withdrawn Chad from his parents' control, had not taken him out of their home, had not branded them "unfit," or "abusing," or in any other way questioned their devotion to their son and their general fitness as parents. The State had said, however, that in one particular, the matter of the treatment to be given Chad, the parents must succumb to the will of others. In short, Massachusetts declared that Diana and Gerald Green were remiss only in the medical opinions they held, and by extension, in the consequences of those opinions: the treatment they had to be forced to permit the doctors to give Chad.

Now, said Szasz, if the state had a case against the Greens, that they were unfit parents, the State, by its own logic, would have taken the child from his parents and undertaken the obligation to raise the child. Not just for a few minutes each week, when he was, by legal order, forced to submit to standard treatment, but continuously. And since the State never presented such a case against the Greens, it created, in effect, a special category for his situation: suitably placed throughout the vast bulk of the week, but improperly placed in his parents' home during those hours when, left to their own devices, they would have treated him to a different medical procedure.

When the last tears have been shed for Chad, perhaps the people who care to go beyond emotionality will sit down and ponder the implications of this sort of authority. The problem does not die with Chad Green; it only becomes general.

—DB

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Guest Editorial

A Monetary Three Mile Island?

IN OUR ISSUE OF LAST March, we featured an article about how exactly the Federal Reserve, America's central bank, expands the money supply, and causes inflation. The prime reason, we pointed out, that it does inflate is to adhere to the weary, decades-old Keynesian concept of "fine-tuning." Under this illusion the economy — which is really the sum total of the billions of choices, both deliberate and inadvertent, of 200-million Americans — is viewed like a living engine which is supposed to run in a predictable way and when it doesn't, can be stimulated or depressed until it is once again running smoothly. The "medicine" used by the State economic physicians is the manipulation of the money supply: creating more paper money to stimulate the economy or withdrawing it to slow down the boom caused by previous money creation.

For decades the government has deluded itself that it actually can control and direct the diverse actions and choices of millions of people engaging in billions of transactions. But 40 years of inflation has begun to catch up with these "doctors," their Keynesian medical bags have proved useless in keeping the economy running smoothly.

In everyone's eyes, the incompetence of the government money managers is becoming clearer by the day. In that *LR* article we spoke of the ineptitude of the Fed in directing monetary growth: "In one case Fed experts tell of a computer error at a single bank that changed the money supply statistics for that week by *$500-million*."

Barely nine months later, an example of Fed incompetence many times greater than that jumped into the general news, focusing public attention as never before on Fed foolishness. What happened, briefly, was that the Fed announced in mid-October that M1 (the narrowly defined money supply comprising currency in circulation and saving accounts) had risen by several *billion* dollars during the first week after the Fed's new restrictive monetary policy was enacted. The financial community took this to mean that the new policy of sharply higher interest rates had not led to a diminution of the inflation rate, that in fact inflation was soaring as measured by the explosive growth in the monetary supply, and that hence even tighter monetary policies were in the works, policies that would make borrowed money more expensive and depress the stock and bond markets. Not surprisingly, the stock market plummeted.

Imagine everyone's surprise, then, when two weeks later on October 25, the Fed shamefacedly announced that it had erred, overstating M1 by *$3.7-billion* for the week ending October 10. Then, the very next week, the Fed reported that M1 for the week ending October 17 was again in error, this time by $800-million, for a total miscalculation of $4.5-billion in an M1 which rarely rises or falls that much in many months. Millions of investors lost billions of dollars as a result.

This gigantic central bank foul-up reveals two interesting things. First, people are paying much more attention to the money supply than was the case even a few years ago. The overwhelming majority of financial observers now realize that money supply expansion is *the* cause of inflation. Compare this situation to that existing a decade ago, when the money supply was ignored and one only heard the term in monetarist or Austrian academic circles.

The other lesson in this is that we've been offered further proof of the bankruptcy of fine-tuning. How can the mandarins who seek to regulate economic activity by means of controlling the supply of money hope to become anything more than laughingstocks if they can't even keep count — within a few billions a week — of the amount of money with which they attempt to control the American economy?

In the wake of what he called the Fed's "monumental goof," the powerful chairman of the House Banking Committee, Representative Henry Reuss (D.-Wis.) advised the Federal Reserve to set up "a fail-safe system so as to avoid future monetary Three Mile Islands."

It was Frank Chodorov who, in the height of the McCarthy era, exclaimed that "the only way to get rid of communists in government jobs is to eliminate the jobs." Similarly, the only way to eradicate "future monetary Three Mile Islands" is to eliminate the monetary "power plant" that immorally — and incompetently — spews out unbacked paper money.

—Christopher Weber

NO, NO, JENKINS... IF JOHNNY HAS 12 BILLION AND HE GIVES JANE 7 BILLION, HOW MANY BILLION DOES HE HAVE LEFT?

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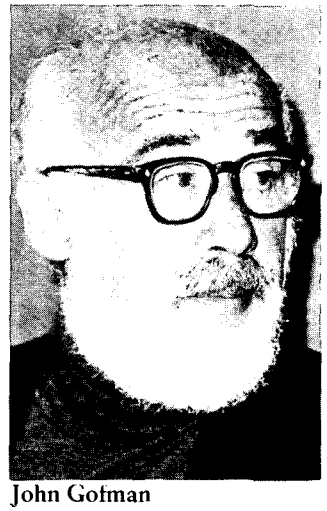
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

To nuke or not to nuke, continued


LESLEE J. NEWMAN

John Gofman

I FEEL COMPELLED TO comment on the recent discussions of nuclear power. None of the people expressing opinions has presented a coherent position, from a libertarian standpoint or otherwise. The discussion has not yet raised the issue properly, and the arguments advanced miss a great deal of significance.

The nuclear industry (reactor operation and design, mining, reprocessing, etc.) is domestically unique, and the manner in which the federal government has intervened on the industry's behalf is also domestically unique. The system of nuclear legislation — Price-Anderson and the "safety"/secrecy legislation — established and maintains a band of literal outlaws-for-profit.

In foreign lands the government's policies are enforced by the war makers and international wheeler-dealers. Even after the War Crimes Trials, there is no legal liability for their misdeeds. In "our" country, Natives are oppressed by the Interior Department and various other governments, again without accountability. But domestically, as regards ordinary citizens, very few "entrepreneurs" have received legislative exemption from responsibility for their actions which cause harm to people and things. Nuclear "entrepreneurs" have demanded and received this type of exemption. Just as you can't sue the Mad Bomber, or government land thieves, or state kidnappers of Native children, you cannot sue the nuclear industry for damages or restraints. Roads, the Postal Service, and nearly all government activity are subject to accountability for injury or damage. A lot of "the King can do no wrong" has been abolished in recent years.

There is a distinction in the law between a "cause of action," or the right to seek redress, and when that cause accrues, or when the cause becomes *de facto* rather than merely *de jure*. For example, all auto drivers are potentially, *de jure*, liable to people for careless driving. The cause accrues when the driving causes injury, and the driver is liable *de facto* when no defense is proved. The Price-Anderson Act abolished the *de jure* liability. The right to *de jure* liability is much more than a right in some property, especially since the right to hold others responsible cannot be transferred to another person, it can only be affirmed or denied. This *de jure* right has been extinguished by Price-Anderson, not stolen. Only property rights can be transferred.

The Price-Anderson Act is more than insurance legislation. There are several very important legal roadblocks to nuclear development that have been wrongfully removed by Price-Anderson. The most obvious things removed were the common law tort causes of action. Instead, the government has established a federal nuclear tort and severely restricted the victims rights to recovery. The common law torts that were abolished as regards radiation harm include: negligence, strict liability, nuisance, product liability, fraud, trespass, assault and battery, escape of dangerous instrumentalities, and wrongful death. Other lawyers could probably add to this list.

The government's intervention on behalf of the nukes goes beyond merely limiting aggregate money recovery. At the common law, some torts would be remedied by restraints, if, for example, the tort was a continuing one. Nuisances are a very good example: if there is a constant invasion by pollutants, the law courts would enjoin the activity. Price-Anderson and the legislative safety/secrecy system was relied upon by the U.S. Supreme Court to uphold Price-Anderson in the *Duke Power* case. No constitutional impediment was found to the abolition and limitation; and licensing equals safety guarantees.

Price-Anderson intervention affects more than the nuke operators. By abolishing *de jure* liability, it included in that abolition liability of the manufacturers of components — pipes, valves, etc. — for defective manufacture, installation or design. But licensing provides safety, saith the Nine. The components "entrepreneurs" are among the loudest advocates of Price-Anderson exemption, and they have even inserted contract clauses that release the manufacturers from the contracts if Price-Anderson expires or is repealed.

Fiduciary investors and investments are protected by Price-Anderson in at least two ways: Trustees, such as banks, insurance companies, pension funds, or *any* board of directors, are handling *other people's* money and property. If a trustee invests trust property in an uninsurable risk, the trustee commits a breach of trust, and at common law, the trustee committed an act of bankruptcy and a fraud on creditors. If the trustee does not disclose that act to beneficiaries, it could be fraud on them, and if the trust solicits investments in the trust and does not disclose the risk to investors, it could be a fraud on them. Appropriate legal remedies in this situation include replacement of the nefarious trustees, reimbursement for a loss — from the trustees' pockets — turnover of profits, punitive damages, and *restraints*. Price-Anderson and the licensing system constitute a declaration that nukes are not uninsurable risks. This grants to trustees the authority to commit

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other people's property to nuclear development.

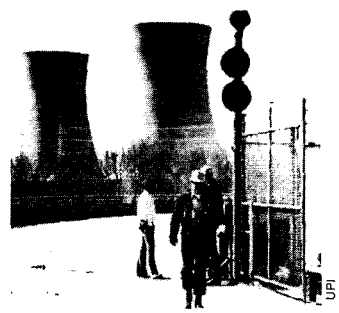
With one legislative act, the Congress swept away all these obstacles to the nukes. They knew what they were doing.

If an *economic* analysis of the nuclear industry is desired, I suggest the following: nuclear legislation, by exempting this "entrepreneurial" activity, and by setting an aggregate recovery amount, has a particular effect on nuclear "entrepreneurs."

Prices for goods and services are more than money quantities, they also function as transmitters of consumer desires and information. Any government interference with the price mechanism will interfere with the accurate transmission of this information. Put concretely, an insurance premium is more than an invoice or a check made out by the business, more than a footnote to the firm's balance sheet or income statements. The "price" that the firm gets—what is bought by the firm—is safety information. The "cost" imposed on the firm by the insurance policy is product and worksite safety. These prices and costs change the way the business is run. The enactment of Price-Anderson and the licensing system *censors* this information. It's another penny-in-the-fuse-box. The nuclear legislation is more than a money subsidy, and the issue involves more than government domination of an industry. What has been done to economic behavior is much more serious.

Investors and suppliers serve consumers generally by transmitting safety information. With the nuclear industry, it is not that the potential liability amount is huge that causes problems with actuaries. It is that the potential liability is uncertain, the likelihood of an accident is *unknown*. That is a very significant piece of information and a very significant market "cost." What are the unintended consequences of censoring that information?

Placing an arbitrary aggregate recovery amount on an accident affects the nuke operators and suppliers in this way: Most commercial insurance policies contain a restriction that obligates the insurance company to pay only for claims up to a certain amount. If a claim is made that exceeds



that amount, a different lawyer must be retained by the firm to defend against the excess. The threat of excess claims impels the entrepreneur to "self-insure," either by setting aside reserves, or by ingenious operating practices that assure ("insure") safety. The nuclear legislation abolishes that contingent liability. What are the unintended consequences of abolishing excess claims?

My training is not in medicine, physics or engineering, but in philosophy and law. I do not rest easily, though, knowing that the nuclear bureaucracy is "guaranteeing" my health, safety and property. The frightening thing is that no entrepreneur can possibly know that the nuke is being operated safely, because of the censorship imposed by the government.

My objection to the nuclear industry is regardless of whether the industry commits random harm. The system of nuclear legislation removes legal responsibility from the industry. Just as I do not favor auctioning or abandoning government weaponry, mental prisons or tax-collecting agencies, I do not favor "privatizing" the existing nuclear industry. The moral equivalents of the war machine are civilian nukes. the existing reactors and their cohorts are aggressors and oppressors of every human being in America. What the industry is doing now must be stopped and the current reactors *decommissioned*. If people decide to build nukes after the repeal of the nuclear legislation, I would not stop them.

State solutions—judicial, legislative or executive—are not the answer. Aroused citizens are reasserting their rights at Seabrook, Shoreham, General Public Utilities, Wall Street, and wherever the nuclear criminals are. These people are not "trespassing," but resisting aggression. Barry Commoner, Jane Fonda/Tom Hayden and Jerry Brown can't be relied upon to give us back our rights, and *plenty* of people in the anti-nuclear movement know that. The strong-armed, clubbed and maced occupiers at Seabrook especially know that. The occupiers were even charged by out-of-state troopers and beaten and gassed, even after they had retreated *off the Seabrook private property!* The whole anti-nuke movement watches what happens at Seabrook.

Libertarians are authority-questioners. So is every movement person I have heard or talked with. Libertarians resist aggression and oppression. Likewise with every anti-nuker I know. The anti-technology people are a part of the movement, but are nowhere in the majority or even a substantial portion, except in a few organizations and affinity groups. All these statements are based on my personal experience and participation in the movement.

The "leadership" of the movement is an entirely different matter. First, the media have by and large created these "leaders." The choice of whom to publicize is made with the idea of selling the media product. There were plenty of boos and heckling of Fonda, Abzug, Commoner, *et al.* at the September 23rd New York rally. I might also add that that rally was *not* organized by the grass-roots anti-nuclear groups. The *only* local New York group that had representatives on the rally committee was Friends of the Earth. SHAD Alliance was not represented. Neither was SEA Alliance, from New Jersey, WESPAC from upstate New York, Clamshell, etc.

Who have the libertarian critics spoken with in the movement? Do they get their information and make their evaluations based on what is really go on, or are they based on magazine and other media reports? Sources are very important, because the anti-nuclear movement is a movement *from below*—a grass-roots movement. There are no "leaders," only individuals and affinity groups. In many organizations, and all the allicances I know about, decisions are not imposed from above by an elite cadre. Decisions are made by consensus, and all participants have their concerns and views considered. This movement is the exact opposite of a typical Leninist organization. That has been the source of the anti-nuke movement's strength.

Concentrating on scientific, engineering or medical issues obscures the other evils of the nukes, and such concentration also diverts people from radically questioning what is being done to them right now. By exempting themselves from the responsibility for their actions, the nukes are literally claiming to be outside moral law. Any profits or property acquired as a result of such activity are illegitimate. The illegitimacy is not transformed by purchase-

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and-sale, homesteading, or mere repeal of all nuclear legislation. If tyranny, oppression, and submission are crimes, who are the nuclear criminals?

The libertarian nuke position can be stated easily: Resist Nuclear Aggression; Free People, Not Nukes!

MICHAEL FIESCHKO
Campaign to Repeal
Price-Anderson
North Arlington,
New Jersey

I AM VASTLY AMUSED to see that the three long letters by the gang of nineteen and two other libertarian theoreticians in the October issue equate government-and-nuclear-utilities to government-and-post-office. This is ridiculous. A far better equation, in the light of my own experience, is government-and-nuclear-utilities to government-and-army. In the sixties I was in the post office for a short time, where I sorted magazines and packages; I was afterwards in the army, where I shuffled paperwork dealing with the peacetime arrangements of nuclear weapons, and contingencies in which the cold war might turn hot.

The concept of Fail Safe is not a postal worry: the crowded rewrap table for busted packages is always a low priority. I imagine some people may possibly have died because of late delivery of government mail; but we know very definitely that a hell of a lot of people have died because of nuclear power wielded by the American government in an act of war that was strategically unnecessary. Slow mail is not equivalent to ongoing radioactivity leakage; even lost mail is not equivalent to craters. We know that moral unconcern and incompetence often go hand in hand; apparently we need a little more perspective to be able to estimate the relative consequences of a mail jam and a meltdown.

What we have in the government-and-nuclear-utilities complex is undeclared cold war in our own neighborhoods, complete with callous nuclear brinksmanship. The more the planners escalate, the more people can hide under their school desks from radiation, and wait for the inevitable prosperity. We know that one large bank failure will wipe out the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation — another vaunted safeguard that turns out to be a myth when you need it. Yet who is going to insure the survival of the only congenial biosphere in the immediate vicinity? Perhaps the leaders who brought us a whole generation of fear tempered by war will pray for us. What is unutterably chilling is the not-quite-dismissable possibility that we may already have lost this cold war at home, that we may already have lost the whole future.

ROBERT WILFRED
FRANSON
San Diego, California

YOUR OCTOBER ISSUE of *LR* is excellent. As a long time advocate and ardent supporter of nuclear power, I have been forced to re-evaluate my position and arguments. The crux of my pro-nuclear arguments were based on the thesis of Petr Beckmann, ie., no form of massive power generation is safe but nuclear energy is by far the safest.

The first broad and general libertarian argument against nuclear power states that nuclear power is not the safest form of massive power generation. On the contrary, it argues, there is no safe level of radiation and any increase in radiation exposure bears a direct and linear relationship to the number of cancers observed in those who are exposed. Often those exposed are innocent bystanders who have not consented to the increased risks and are truly unknowing victims of radiation aggression. The second argument claims that the nuclear industry is a feeble offspring of government which has never matured enough to live by its own merit and is nothing more than a massive welfare recipient existing at the expense of the taxpayer for the benefit of corporate state capitalists. Both Milton Mueller and John Gofman have made that point quite lucidly and I now must agree. For libertarians, that argument in itself should sound the death knell for the nuclear power industry as it exists today, but not necessarily for nuclear power per se.

The first argument against nuclear power raises other legitimate questions with far reaching implications and repercussions for libertarians. First, we should try to determine which claim is true, Beckmann's (nuclear power is the safest), or Gofman's (nuclear power presents a health hazard far greater than any conventional form of massive power generation). While I've never seen Gofman explicitly make this claim, it's certainly implicit in his October *LR* interview. I would like to see an *LR* interview with Beckmann in order to present his rebuttal to Gofman and I'd suggest *LR* attempt to publish the results of a panel discussion or debate between these two gentlemen. Are they both open, honest, sincere and big enough to face each other in open debate to help the concerned and open-minded layman determine all the facts and truths of the nuclear issue? While such intercourse might not answer the question conclusively, it would certainly be a giant step in the direction of an answer. (Mr. Gofman and Mr. Beckmann, if you are reading this, you might be interested to know that you'll probably get a more objective and impartial hearing from libertarians than from any other ax grinding group that you've ever encountered).

However, the implications for safety of both nuclear and conventional power generation open the door to another crucial libertarian sociological question: the question of unknown and/or unaccepted aggression. Whether nuclear energy is safe, safest, or unsafe, another factor is indisputable. Namely, conventional fossil power generation is not safe, and in fact can be held responsible for untold deaths and disease to unwitting Americans every year.

For example, four separate studies indicate between 10,000 and 50,000 excess deaths per year in the U.S. due to respiratory diseases caused by air pollution from fossil fired generating plants. This does not include deaths due to induced cancers. These deaths are all to the innocent and unsuspecting public. Add to these the deaths of workers in related industries, and we must include death in coal mining (average 246 per year for accidents and 4,000 per year for black lung disease), oil and gas production, transportation and storage. (Libertarians will be particularly interested to know that the U.S. taxpayer presently pays $1-billion a year to support some 50,000 black lung victims).

This issue is part of the environmental issue, but it pertains to more. It's a clear and blatant example of state capitalism aggressing against unknowing and unwitting victims in the name of the common good. While the environmental issue has been addressed by Libertarians and the L.P. platform under the plank labeled "Pollution," the existing rhetoric is grossly inadequate. For example, in today's America, our economy

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is dependent upon massive energy generation, which in most cases can be shown to directly aggress against individual rights. Ending the aggression would catastrophically affect our economy and create massive and inhumane dislocations for a huge majority of the American public. Again we are faced with a state created dilemma with no apparent immediate solution.

The nuclear debate has opened Pandora's box and this reader rejoiced in being finally forced to come face to face with the demons, for it was only after the release of all the ills of the box that hope escaped. The debate and controversy is welcome.

I would merely add that we must all agree to disagree as mature adults. Vendettas and character assassinations are statist and collectivist ploys that only degrade the debate and the debater. Milton Mueller's labeling of Bill Evers as Murray Rothbard's clone was an ugly blot on an otherwise excellent article and rebuttal. We're all libertarians and we're all fighting a common enemy as best we each know how. Let's all clean up our act and enter the debate as libertarians, respectful of each other's efforts in the cause of liberty.

JOHN H. BALL
Hurley, New Mexico

YOUR NUCLEAR power stance seems to be based primarily on the non-aggression principle. Namely, that "no one has the right to take another person's life, or otherwise to physicially harm, rob, coerce or aggress against another."

If these same standards are applied to other power sources, I defy you to name a power source that would remain.

Natural gas and liquified natural gas (L.N.G.) pose explosion and fire threats that are not limited to those voluntarily using the supplies, and many of the pipelines used for distribution of these products have been taken under force of law. Oil and petroleum distillates not only pose similar threats to those of natural gas, but they pose greater pollution hazards. Coal is generally acknowledged as more dangerous than nuclear power, if one is willing to accept the various studies documenting this fact. In fact some studies show that coal poses a greater radiological threat than does nuclear. Hydropower similarly poses problems because no one accepts the responsibility for dam failures, and dam building usually requires the taking of private lands via force of law. Similar rationalizations can spread to all energy systems, including all of those advocated. While energy conservation is not an energy source per se, increased conservation creates similar problems due to radon retention in highly airtight buildings being enhanced. If such a building were open to the public one would be aggressing unless patrons signed voluntary disclaimers upon entrance (it would also require a viable alternative to those who would not sign).

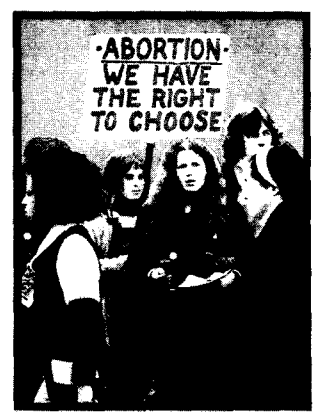
But applying this principle wouldn't stop here. The power grid would have to be abandoned because it aggresses in that it has to be taken under force of law. Such applications may sound excellent to *The Libertarian Review.* They make absolutely no sense in real world application.

I agree with the non-aggression principle but find it necessary to temper that principle with reality. The outright banning of anything that aggresses would lead to unnecessary hardships. Government, even the limited variety libertarians want, could in no way prevent coercion or aggression unless it was given powers that would lead to its being banned.

Realistic principles must take reality into account. In this context the non-aggression principle has minimization of aggression as its goal. For such a goal a reasoned debate is required. That is, a debate that presents both sides of the argument and includes documentation (for scientific and technical data for support and rebuttal purposes). *The Libertarian Review* has not lived up to either prerequisite for a reasoned debate.

CARL GAUSEWITZ
Magnolia, Ohio

Abortion and freedom of choice, continued



UPI

LESLEE J. NEWMAN'S article, "Abortion: The Battle Over Freedom of Choice" is, unfortunately, a collection of one questionable statement after another. For example:

The battle is not over "freedom of choice" but over a particular choice: to kill unborn children. As Ms. Newman herself wrote, pro-lifers "claim that they are protecting the life and rights of the unborn." She replied, "But what about the rights of the living?"—as if the unborn are not yet living—and never came to grips with the central, underlying question of whether the unborn have rights. She merely took it for granted they don't.

The Supreme Court never decided this question, either. Instead, it begged the question by deciding *Roe v. Wade* on an irrelevancy: privacy. However, if the child is a person, then abortion is not a private act but a conspiracy between the woman and her abortionist against a child.

She said the Court would allow abortion in "the last trimester ... only if the mother's life were in danger." However, in *Roe* the Court said "life or health" and in *Doe v. Bolton* it defined "health" as including "all (relevant) factors—physical, emotional, psychological, familial, and the woman's age."

She predicted if abortion were to become illegal, "our already crowded courts would be required to hold hundreds of thousands of inquests to determine the cause of 'death'". This doesn't happen in other countries where abortions are illegal, nor did it happen here when they used to be illegal, so isn't she exaggerating a bit?

She said abortion is not a "'major medical procedure.'" However, the hysterotomy abortion is, for it is similar to a Caesarian section. No abortion is a trivial operation, and women continue to suffer ill after effects from them, sometimes even death. This is why some would regulate the abortion clinics. The actual number who suffer is not known, for the problems are not necessarily reported as abortion-related, and some effects don't become obvious until much later.

She said, "[T]here really are no alternatives to abortion except suicide and motherhood (and, some would add, madness)." However, some women see and choose another: adoption.

She said pro-lifers are "pro-slavery," but if moth-

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ers (and fathers) have an obligation to care for their children, as Libertarians for Life argues they do, then parenting is not slavery but honoring one's obligation. Also, pro-abortionists are not necessarily anti-slavery. E.g., the ACLU and NOW have endorsed abortion and drafting women as well as men.

She said, "[E]very major twentieth-century dictatorship [has] outlawed abortion." However, Nazi Germany forced abortions upon non-Aryans; the Soviet Union has permitted it for years; and China has supported abortion *and* infanticide for centuries. The U.N. suports abortion, for it is a favorite tool of the population planners and people controllers all over the world.

She said pro-lifers would "do away with sex education" because it "makes teenagers sexually active." However, she failed to show where sex ed, as taught in the public schools, promotes chastity, which it doesn't. Libertarians should cheer when people challenge the state as a molder of children's minds and values. Many now shun the public schools and some even advocate separation of education and the state.

She said a human life amendment would legally enshrine a religious belief. However, isn't opposing wrongful homicide libertarian? If religious beliefs are out of place here, why did she use Father Joseph O'Rourke's opinions to support her position? And why didn't she mention the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights and rebuke them for even existing?

Ms. Newman said pro-lifers are an "unaccepting minority" and act "in defiance of... the wishes of the majority." Tsk, tsk, just like those awful libertarians. Whatever our numbers, they are increasing. As more and more thoughtfully examine the pro-abortion arguments and find them wanting, they give us their support.

Despite the above criticism, we at LFL wish to express our appreciation for the continued interest *LR* has shown in the abortion issue and for Ms. Newman's efforts. We hope *LR* will continue to explore the topic.

Also, LFL wishes it to be known that our commitment is not to any particular conclusion on abortion but to libertarianism; i.e., the non-aggression principle. If a proper case can be made for abortion on demand, and we can see it, we will be pleased to acknowledge this.

DORIS GORDON
Coordinator
Libertarians For Life
Wheaton, Maryland

Newman replies

I AM PLEASED THAT MS. Gordon read and scrutinized my article so carefully as to arrive at such a number of refutations. Many of her comments, however, are incorrect or quoted out of context.

I did not know that the Soviet Union, China, and the U.N. should all be characterized as dictatorships, as Ms. Gordon implies by her comments. The Soviet Union and China are often described as totalitarian states, rather than as dictatorships (though Ms. Gordon's obvious dislike for nice distinctions, such as that between a fetus and a human being, will probably indispose her to this one), and the U.N., unlibertarian though it is, is surely guilty of less evil in its efforts to teach the Third World about population control than are the various advocates of abortion laws in their efforts to enslave the female population.

She characterizes as specious my claim that inquests might be held in the future, because they have not been held in the past. She doesn't bother to recognize that my predictions are based on the implications of passage of a human life amendment. Abortion has never been murder in this nation because the fetus has never been granted personhood. The human life amendment would make abortion murder, and suspected abortions the subject of inquests.

The statement about there being no alternatives to abortion was not a quotation from me, but from a study group ordered by Former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Joseph Califano. Adoption is certainly a viable alternative to abortion, but it must not be the only alternative. Adoption in the U.S. is controlled and complicated by the workings and bureaucracy of the state. Also, if abortion were made illegal, and adoption were the only alternative, would there suddenly be 1 to 2-million new homes available each year for unwanted babies? (Close to 1½-million abortions are performed each year.) As to the libertarian obligation that parents should take care of their children, libertarian principles dictate that parents take responsibility for their actions. If a couple has children, they should care for their offspring. But in the real world, many responsible married couples conceive accidentally — the ACLU released a report showing as many as one in three couples over a five-year period. Should these people be coerced by the state to have unwanted children? Such coercion is slavery.

Finally, the two grossest errors in Ms. Gordon's refutation of my article include her contention that I failed to show how sex education promotes chastity, and her claim that abortion is a major medical procedure. Of course, the ideal method of teaching children about sex is by direct communication by the family or parents, not by the schools. However, in practice many parents do not communicate well with their teens, and neglect to talk to their offspring about the birds and the bees. Thus, many teenage girls conceive without knowledge of their actions. And the taking away of *any* sex education—public or private — would only aggravate an already overwhelming ignorance. A recent article in the *Oakland Tribune* describing a special education program for high school teenage mothers brought out the fact that a majority of the girls actually did not know they could have a baby from sexual intercourse. So sex education, any sex education, may not stop a teenager from engaging in sex, that's not the point. Sex education helps to inform teens about the consequences of their actions.

COMING SOON IN LR

Bill Birmingham
on Nixon, Kissinger,
and Cambodia
Doug Bandow
on Trucking Deregulation

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Finally, the claim that abortion is a major medical procedure is a resort to fear tactics by Ms. Gordon. Doctors will tell you that any medical procedure, no matter how minor, bears some risk. But let's look at the facts about abortion. The most prevalent form of abortion is the vacuum aspiration method which takes an average of 5 minutes to perform and is used during the first trimester of pregnancy when 89.4% of all abortions occur. Ms. Gordon's hysterotomy abortion example is outdated, obscure, and almost unheard of anymore. Very simply, abortions are safer than live births—3.2 deaths occur per 100,000 abortions while there are 12.3 deaths for every 100,000 live births.

I would like to thank Ms. Gordon's sharp eye for finding my unintentional error that abortion was only to be permitted by the Supreme Court during the last trimester of pregnancy if the mother's life were in danger. She is correct that court protection in *Doe* and *Roe* was not so extreme. The high court stated that abortion should only be allowed "to preserve the mother's life or health." Yet such liberalization has not greatly increased the number of abortions being performed in the last three months of pregnancy. In practice only 0.1 percent of all abortions actually take place during this period.

I simply question how Libertarians for Life and Doris Gordon with their presumed hatred of the state can support the prohibition of abortion which would invest the state with coercive power to force the carrying of unwanted fetuses to term.

LR *welcomes letters from readers. Letters intended for publication should be typed, double-spaced, and addressed to: Letters to the Editors, The Libertarian Review, 1620 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California 94111.*

BECAUSE SOME THINGS
ARE WORTH READING AGAIN...

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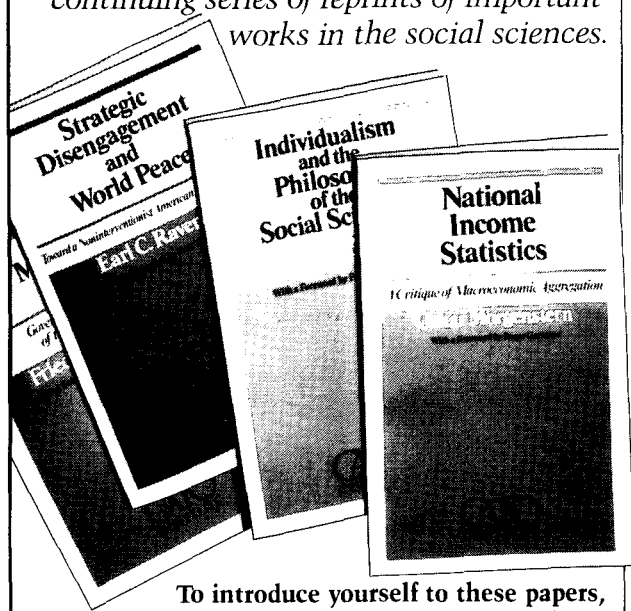
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THE PUBLIC TROUGH

Libertarianism and Neoconservatism

BRUCE BARTLETT

AN ISSUE OF *ESquire* magazine published early last year proclaimed neoconservatism to be "the most powerful new political force in America" (February 13, 1979). A convenient chart was provided showing "who's who" among neoconservatives, including the various wings. Libertarianism was shown to be the "new right" wing of neoconservatism, with many prominent libertarians listed. Since, therefore, libertarianism and neoconservatism are, in a sense, linked in the public mind it might be useful to see whether there are, in fact, any common bonds between the two

As far as I can determine, neoconservatism is just the current variation of what is usually called social democracy. Social democrats try to be both socialist and anti-Communist, but usually end up just being contradictory. Neoconservatism, on the other hand, is based primarily on three elements: cultural conservatism, anti-Communism, and support for the welfare state. Of course, neoconservatives disagree on details, and there are also many other aspects of neoconservatism that give it a distinctive style, but these three elements are critical.

Irving Kristol is probably the best known neoconservative, but the most important is Norman Podhoretz, editor of *Commentary* magazine. His recent book, *Breaking Ranks,* is an enormously interesting political memoir, which details his drift from old-style social democrat and protege of Lionel Trilling, to an intellectual leader of the New Left in the early 1960s, back around to neoconservatism. For him, as well as most other neoconservatives, the violence of the Weathermen was a watershed which forced them to move away from the far Left and ultimately embrace neoconservatism. (Podhoretz has very harsh words for those, like Jason Epstein, founder of the *New York Review of Books,* who failed to "grow up" and understand the true nature of the New Left.)

At first glance, it may appear that neoconservatism has little, if anything, in common with libertarianism. Few libertarians would consider themselves cultural conservatives—on the contrary, many libertarians consider themselves part of the so-called counterculture. Fewer still would associate themselves with the militant anti-Communism of *Commentary* magazine. Lastly, no libertarian would express a desire to support the welfare state. Nevertheless, I think there is still much in neoconservative writing which is extremely important and useful for libertarians.

For one thing, the neoconservatives understand, as most liberals do not, that a prerequisite for the welfare state is economic growth. The great sin of the liberals is that they have promoted the welfare state at the expense of growth. This is because of their attachment to income equality, which has caused them to impose excessive burdens on the creation of wealth. The neoconservatives, on the other hand, see nothing wrong with income inequality and wealth, so long as all Americans are provided with at least a minimum standard of living. Thus they argue in favor of reducing high tax rates which stifle incentive, regulatory reform, making the welfare state more efficient, and economic growth in general.

Obviously, this puts neoconservatives on the side of libertarians on many key economic issues. Insofar as we are working toward the common end of cutting taxes, eliminating government waste, cutting back on government regulations and promoting economic growth, I see nothing wrong with making common cause. I frequently find Irving Kristol's column in the *Wall Street Journal* and articles in *The Public Interest* to be lights in the darkness on economic issues. Unfortunately, although the neoconservative analyses of public policy issues are often superb, because they are so utilitarian they usually leave you unsatisfied because they don't carry the logic of the analysis to its logical conclusion. The neoconservatives will say that high tax rates should be cut, without condemning the existence of taxation as such; they rigorously point out waste and abuse in government welfare programs, without ever calling for their abolition; and they brilliantly expose the enormous cost of government regulation, while maintaining, as Kristol does, that "no reasonable person is *in principle* opposed to all government regulation."

Other issues which libertarians and neoconservatives would find common cause with would be opposition to quotas and busing, and opposition to foreign economic aid (at least to "ungrateful" countries).

In any case, neoconservatism is a force to be reckoned with. Neoconservatives have enormous influence in New York and Washington and will be involved heavily in the presidential nominations of both parties (Podhoretz wants Senator Moynihan to be President, Kristol wants Congressman Jack Kemp). It is important for libertarians to understand neoconservatism. It will be around for a while.

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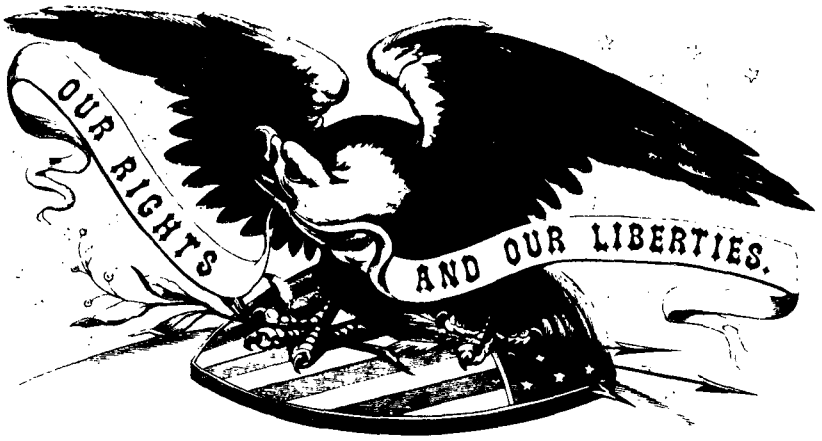
Abolish Selective Service



Prevent A New Draft

The draft was recently stalled in Congress. But it's not dead. Bills are still pending to begin draft calls. The machinery of conscription is still fully in place. Further, the President retains the power to begin mandatory draft registration at any time—without consulting Congress. The only way to stop the draft is to take the offensive—by eliminating the machinery needed to implement it, the Selective Service System.

House Resolution 5134 has been introduced to repeal the President's power to begin draft registration and to totally abolish the still functioning remnants of the draft—the Selective Service System itself. H.R. 5134 has received bipartisan support in Congress. But it needs your help. Write or send a telegram to your Congressperson today asking him or her to support H.R. 5134.

It's easy. Call Western Union and tell them you want to send a public opinion telegram to your Congressperson. The charge is minimal (about two dollars) and they'll add it to your phone bill. Or ask to send an inexpensive mailgram. You can send a letter to your Congressperson care of: House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

Find out more about the campaign to stop the draft. Clip the coupon and send it in today. Or write to Students for a Libertarian Society, 1620 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, CA 94111 (western office), or 410 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (eastern office).

Support H.R. 5134 • Write Congress Today!

About Students for a Libertarian Society

"Action from principle," said Henry David Thoreau, "the perception and the performance of right, changes things and relations; it is essentially revolutionary."

Students for a Libertarian Society is dedicated to *action from principle*; we are a nationwide organization aimed at creating a student movement animated by the libertarian ideals of peace and freedom. SLS activists were instrumental in the recent campaign to stop the draft, organizing hundreds of protests, rallies, and teach-ins, and carrying on an active lobbying campaign. SLS chapters have also taken on a number of other issues, from opposing the anti-gay Briggs Initiative, to fighting rent control, taxes, vice squads, and the politically privileged nuclear power industry. SLS publishes a monthly campus newspaper, *Liberty*, as well as an internal newsletter, booklets, and hard hitting literature. Write today for more information on the ideals of libertarianism and SLS's membership and chapter programs.

SLS

Students for a Libertarian Society
1620 Montgomery Street
San Francisco, CA 94111

- ☐ Send more information on the campaign to stop the draft.
- ☐ I want to join SLS. $5 is enclosed (includes subscription to *Liberty* and *SLS Action*).
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The CED Syndrome: *The Politics of the New Class*

JUSTIN RAIMONDO

In a whirlwind tour of fifty-two cities, the Jane Fonda/Tom Hayden road show managed to prolong their Campaign for Economic Democracy media event for thirty-two days. The tightly-scheduled $150,000 tour criss-crossed thirty-four college campuses, making stops along the way at anti-nuclear rallies, union conventions, and the TV talk show circuit. When Jane Fonda announced at the end of the tour that she was quitting political activism to devote her time to making a planned six movies, the media dutifully reported the event as though it had the weighty significance of a pronouncement by Henry Kissinger.

But the October tour was not meant as a swan song for Jane Fonda, political activist, no matter how much that seemed to be the case by the time she made her announcement at the University of California at Davis. The tour was a well-publicized, organized attempt to use Fonda's fame and cash to revive the fortunes of a flagging American Left and to catapult her husband, Tom Hayden, into a position of national prominence.

As 1980 dawns, the Left in America is in a state of disarray. Wracked by dissension, internal squabbling which seems to be perpetual, and often savage conflicts between leaders, there is no consensus on anything in the Left today. Michael Harrington of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) is backing Kennedy for President, others (including Fonda and Hayden) appear to be backing Jerry Brown, still others, longing for a Progressive Alliance or a Citizens Party to lead them out of the wilderness and into some promised land. Faced with a widespread revolt against government and open disgust with taxes and regulations, its longtime dream of socialism seems to be receding into the distance, and the Left has been forced into some quick reshuffling of its programmatic chairs on the deck of the sinking ship of state.

Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) has lately been getting the most publicity of all these attempts to shore up the Left, not the least of the reasons being the box office appeal and wealth of Jane Fonda herself. The Campaign for Economic Democracy is a full-fledged attempt to bring to the Left a new strategic vision reined in by lowered expectations.

But what is "economic democracy?" Or, more precisely, what is it a euphemism for? Listening to Fonda and Hayden, and to their growing crew of supporters, the answer is not immediately clear. Nor is it intended to be. "Economic democracy" is not an ideology so much as a *style;* not a system, like Marxism, but a methodology, a strategic vision, the Americanization of Leninism. But to listen to these latter-day, largely white, middle-class graduates of the New Left, is to hear the faintest echo of Howard Jarvis' somewhat cranky, raspy anti-statism. "We work toward radical ends by traditional means," says one CED staff member.

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"Our critics on the left seem to prefer radical means toward traditional ends." Those ends being "a massive bureaucratic apparatus." Instead of calling for the outright nationalization of industries, CED calls for the current "decentralist" variety of statist chic. Instead of regulating life and commerce from Washington, they claim to want to regulate at the local level, with "equal" representation on corporate boards for "employees" (like union boss Doug Fraser!) and "consumers."

"If you're for rent control you don't have to be a lefty anymore," said Hayden to the *Washington Post* (7/5/79). "Populism is populism — it's a question of whether it's populism against the poor, or the government ... or against large corporations."

Again and again, at every point in their fifty-two city tour, Hayden and Fonda made their anticorporate duet a sort of theme song. The message came through loud, although a little unclear: "the big corporations" are responsible for the ills not only in America, but throughout the world. Nuclear power—state subsidized and planned from the start—is CED's favorite bogeyman, and audiences are not encouraged to remember that it wasn't so long ago that the Left stood solidly in the *pro*-nuclear camp. Even Tom Hayden's eloquent paean to nuclear power in the SDS Port Huron Statement seems forgotten. Those were the good old days, when technology was "in" with the Left, and earnest young revolutionaries discussed a socialism energized by nuclear power "too cheap to meter." Now, the new energy god is solar power, which Hayden wants government to promote just as it did nuclear power two decades ago. "Hard" technology is now "out," at least in certain circles, and "soft" technology is "in." Now the same people who wanted a highly-centralized, high-tech, chrome-plated socialism, are pushing decentralized, solar-powered (and government subsidized) "economic democracy."

These are just the code-signals of what the *Village Voice* calls "a new political culture in California and perhaps the nation." So what's "new"? The villain is still "Wall Street," the egalitarian politics of envy can still score a few points—tainted though it might be by association with a multimillionaire actress—and the goal is still the same: get "Big Business."

CED's "ideology"—what there is of it—is clearly a defensive measure. As the *Village Voice* put it, "Hayden's politics have shifted sharply since the passage of Proposition 13 inspired his intuition that a major 'realignment' of political forces was about to take shape." Backed into a corner by the tide of a militant anti-government *Zeitgeist,* the washed-out remains of yesterday's "revolutionary vanguard" is now tailing after Howard Jarvis — and, yes, the libertarian movement—as fast as it can. The *Voice* continues:

> Hayden's uncomradely relationship with some radicals and liberals outside CED derive in part from his increasingly harsh attitude toward traditional liberal positions on issues ranging from federal and state budgets to inflation and school busing for integration. Old friends of his were astonished one night last March when Hayden, while visiting New York in preparation for the fall tour, told them he believed federal deficits were a major cause of inflation, and proceeded to quote the rightwing economic arguments—adopted by Jerry Brown—that tie inflation to increases in federal spending. The Welfare State, with its liberal failures, is about to consume itself, says Hayden, and he is not going to be exhausted politically in a fight to save those failures from conservative attack. Furthermore, in seeking to build a "majoritarian" movement against corporate power, it becomes necessary to avoid the appearance of defending unpopular liberal positions...

"If people think as little of government as they do," insists Hayden, "then the left has to rethink its traditional position." How this timid attempt to echo the demands of a grassroots libertarian sentiment is to be reconciled with CED's firm commitment to affirmative action, oil and natural gas controls, rent control, and socialized medicine, is unclear. But theoretical clarity has never been CED's forte. In CED the New Left's "action-divorced-from-theory" fetish has reached new heights of refined sophistication: "When you talk about machines, you think of Mayor Daley, about having the power to [pick up] people's garbage. Well, we don't have that power, but we'd like to get there," said Fred Branfman, to the *Washington Post.* "We would like to help people with their needs, to make sure they get their Social Security checks—that's what it's all about."

Once the hated symbol of the "pigs," Mayor Daley is now a role-model to be emulated. To paraphrase the Catholic liturgy: those who were exalted are now humbled, and those who were humbled are now exalted.

The roots of CED

The organizational roots and history of the Campaign for Economic Democracy can be traced in a concrete way from the Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies, first convened in the early 70s by New Leftists with social democratic urges. The conference looked to Canadian and "Eurocommunist" economic models for inspiration, and was fond of vague phrases like "worker's control." Conference member Derek Shearer, now critical of CED's opportunism, helped write Hayden's campaign platform for his unsuccessful 1976 run for U.S. Senate in California. Written by Shearer, along with Professor G. William Domhoff (author of *The Higher Circles* and other works), Richard Flacks, and Hayden himself, the platform—called "Let's Make the Future Ours"—is filled with panaceas such as advocacy of state banks, municipally-owned utilities, national health service, and "direct" workers' control of industry. Now Shearer says that "terms like socialism and capitalism don't have any currency in America. So economic democracy was, in one respect, a euphemism for democratic socialism. But it was also a way of going beyond the usual idea of socialism to one that included workers' control and consumers on corporate boards" (*In These Times,* 5/9/79).

Another of CED's roots was the Indochina Peace Campaign (IPC), organized by Hayden and Fonda in the early 1970s as a lobby against the war. As Shari Lawson—an IPC organizer back then, now head of CED's Organizer Training Institute—says: "I was a '60s radical. In 1972, I changed my political views. I realized protest could only go so far." Saigon fell, in 1975, and the IPC cadre decided that it was time to dig in, to concentrate on economic issues, and to run candidates for office. These cadre make up a good proportion of the present-day CED leadership, and, according to *In These Times:*

> Unlike Shearer, Domhoff or Flacks, they did not and do not see economic democracy as a euphemism for socialism. Instead, they see it as a transitional concept [to what?], a tactical slogan as much as a defined goal ... They believed that the American revolution, like the Vietnamese revolution, would develop in stages with the struggle for economic democracy an early stage. They saw themselves as leadership cadre, with their own common, but private, blueprint for eventual revolution, who would provide guidance through the different stages.

The Campaign for Economic Democracy was founded, by Hayden and Fonda, in 1977, after Hayden's defeat in his

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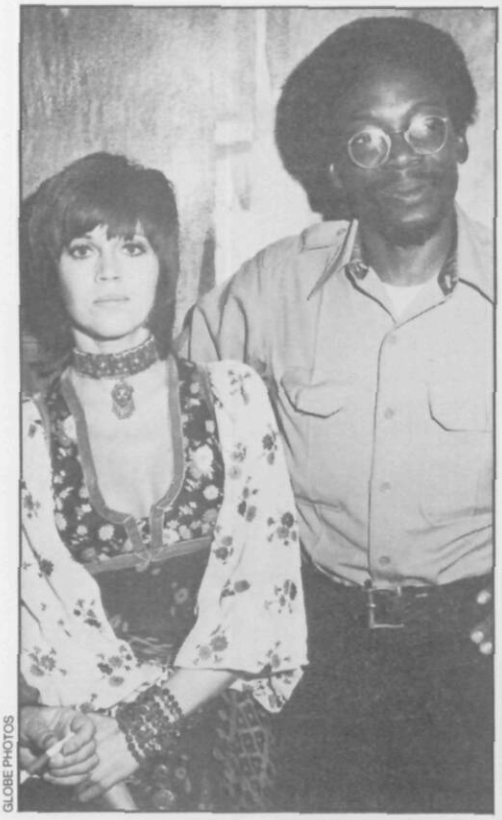

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Fonda and Hayden as 60's Radicals:

(*Clockwise from top left*) Jane Fonda and Raymond "Masai" Hewitt at a Black Panther fund raising party; Panther chairman Bobby Seale and SDS founder Tom Hayden, at the Chicago Seven trial; Hayden with A. J. Muste, chairman of the Committee for Nonviolent Action; Fonda speaking at the march on Washington which protested the US entering Cambodia.

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attempt to win John Tunney's Senate seat. The group is run by a steering committee elected from local chapters; no public convention has ever been held. Hayden claims that membership has doubled in two years, to a current total of 8000. Of these, approximately 500 to 1000 are activists who can be depended on to come to weekly meetings, integrate CED work into daily life, and travel for the organization if necessary. Founding members include leftwing Congressman Ron Dellums, and Cesar Chavez. It has a budget of about $300,000 per year—raised mostly by Fonda and her Hollywood connections—and a paid staff of twenty-one. The superstructure of affiliated organizations are all tax exempt. The California Public Policy Center researches issues like rent control and solar energy. The Organizer Training Institute does exactly what it says it does. There is even a ranch in the hills overlooking Santa Barbara for staff retreats and a children's summer camp.

A host of CED associates have been appointed by Governor Brown to various positions with the growing solar power bureaucracy; Hayden himself was appointed by Brown to the State SolarCal Council, a CED idea that Brown championed as California's "soft technology" answer to the energy crisis. Presidential candidate Brown also made Hayden a "special counsel" to his administration, and appointed him to the Southwest Border Regional Commission. In recent months, Brown has appointed two CED members to county supervisor positions, one in Santa Cruz, and one in Orange County.

But the measure of CED's initial success is more than the measure of Brown's trendy opportunism. Within the last 18 months, CED members and CED-backed initiatives and candidates for public office have won elections around the state; rural Yolo and Butte counties, Chico, Berkeley, Bakersfield, Santa Monica and Los Angeles are all scenes of CED victories. CED has been the backbone of the rent control movement in California, which Hayden initially saw as a losing issue, until the victory of Proposition 13 made landlords who did not pass along tax savings to renters an easy target.

CED claims 17 electoral victories in California, so far—and the Democratic Party leadership is running scared. Hayden's recent tour is an indication that soon the panic will achieve national proportions. Already, a loose coalition is beginning to take shape around the country; Massachusetts Fair Share, ACORN, International Association of Machinists' president William Winpisinger with the Citizens/Labor Energy Coalition, the Progressive Alliance headed by UAW's Douglas Fraser, as well as Michael Harrington's DSOC and groups like the New American Movement, all share a somewhat common political perspective. All are committed to working within the confines of the Democratic Party—and, in the final analysis, the confines of State Capitalism—in order to hold their own against the anti-bureaucratic tidal wave which is sweeping the country.

CED's plan for the survival of the Left in the lean years is simple: co-opt the enemy. In order to achieve this, of course, CED must work overtime to blur the distinction between Big Government, Big Business, and "Big-ness" *per se*—a job already half accomplished by the not-so-private "private sector" itself, segments of which obviously find themselves more comfortable with state-granted privileges and subsidies than with the rigors of competition in a truly free market. But even CED's watery version of "small-is-beautiful" decentralization—occasionally spiced with tantalizingly anti-government rhetoric—has caused CED its share of internal dissension.

The split in CED is only a superficial fissure, but it is deepening. The focal point of contention is California Governor and veteran opportunist Jerry Brown. Until now, says Joe Conason, in his *Village Voice* article,

> Hayden has been able to skirt the contradictions in his position against liberal programs and for economic democracy. When CED had to decide whether to support Brown's call for a constitutional convention to consider a "balanced budget" amendment, the group arrived at an impasse. Half of the leadership was ready to support Brown, while half vehemently opposed him. Hayden finessed the problem by proposing a balanced budget resolution that also required full employment.

But it is not the politics of Jerry Brown which aggravates the growing conflict within CED—it is the politics of CED itself. Although *New West* makes much of a Northern/Southern California split in CED over Brown's Presidential race—with Hayden and the South pro-Jerry, and the North more traditionally leftist—the real roots of the dissension run deeper.

The truth is that the American Left—which makes a habit of importing most of its ideas from places like Albania—is in ruins. After fifty years of socialism, social democracy, Eurocommunism, Stalinism, Maoism, and Pol-Potism—fifty years of abject failure—the Left isn't taking any chances. If it looks to any particular state apparatus, it figures its best bet is the one closest to home.

For the American Left to accept such an idea would amount to a fundamental reversal of faith—equivalent to the Roman Catholic Church denying the divinity of Christ. "A lot of people on the Left have been in opposition to the law for so long, taking drugs, opposing the government," pontificates Hayden, "that they do tend to take an outlaw-type mentality."

What Hayden wants the Left to acknowledge is the obvious fact that it has lost its energy, its vitality, its claim to the mantle of radicalism. If you can't beat 'em, say Hayden and the CED, join 'em!

And CED's "anti-bureaucratic" rhetoric to the contrary notwithstanding—that is precisely what they have proceeded to do.

Class warfare, '80s style

CED's reponse to the growing rebellion against the hegemony of the public sector is to serve as a populist cover for the rising New Class bureaucracy. In order to protect and expand the ideological and electoral gains made by the Left in the last fifty years from what they see as an immediate threat—the threat of the tax revolt becoming the *anti-tax revolution*—CED has manned the walls of the bureaucratic fortress for the onslaught that is sure to come. Not only is CED, despite occasional anti-government rhetoric, committed to the expansion of state power, but CED is using the power of the state to spread its ideology and to achieve political objectives. CED's admiration for the late Mayor Daley is not an unimportant detail.

For some months now, many leftists around the country have been angered by the approach of Fonda and Hayden. They often come into an area, attract attention and crowds, skim off as much money from local sources as they can—and then they disappear, not to be heard from again. Many activists claim that's the way Hayden and Fonda have operated from the beginning, much to the detriment of effective local organizing. One solar activist said of Hayden: "He's just exploiting solar as an issue. It's the same whether Hayden and

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The Bandwagon Jumpers: Governor Jerry Brown (*left*) tests the winds of political opportunism in New Hampshire, while Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda (*right*) try out their new anti-nuclear feelings at the Washington rally after the incident at Three Mile Island.

CED ... are in housing, tenants' rights, or their most recent crusade against 'the corporate causes of cancer.' They'll rip off all the action no matter what the issue is. They come in with the Jane Fonda dog and pony show, rip off all the money and you never see them again."

But now a new charge—involving the use of taxpayer's money for Hayden's own ends—has come from an unexpected corner (and the source of the above complaint)—the *Berkeley Barb*. In an investigative report, the *Barb* has revealed that the Hayden political machine has: (1) "Channeled federal dollars from Western SUN (a federal solar energy project) into community action groups affiliated with Hayden's CED"; (2) Put CED members on the payroll of Western SUN; (3) "Obtained federal funding from the CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) program to pay wages to CED members for doing work for CED"; and (4) Used a local Santa Monica, government-funded group to promote rent control.

The *Barb* revealed that ever since California Governor Jerry Brown appointed Hayden to the board of Western SUN, affiliation with Hayden's CED seems to be the sole criterion for Western SUN employees. Not only that, but affiliation with Hayden's machine seems to be the sole criterion for dispensing Western SUN grants. The *Barb* reports:

> Most of Hayden's tax-supported operations revolve around the solar power movement, a movement which he has all but expropriated for his own political ends. The lynchpin of the entire program is a little-known outfit called Western SUN, a project of the U.S. Department of Energy, whose purpose is to 'further the awareness and commercialization of solar energy' in thirteen western states according to the official description.
>
> The California branch of Western SUN is Hayden's baby, and by all indications, he's the most active state Western SUN director in all the 13 states covered by the program. Hayden's administrative budget for Western SUN in its first year of operations was $82,000—and that was really nothing more than start-up money. Apparently, Tom felt that the best way he could spend the money was by putting as many CED political allies as possible on Western SUN's payroll.
>
> The *Barb* investigation has revealed that Larry Levin, Western SUN's field representative, is a CED member, and a former PR man for Hayden's unsuccessful 1976 U.S. Senate race.
>
> Judy Corbett, another of Western SUN paid consultants, has allowed her showcase solar-powered home in Davis to be used for CED fundraiser house-parties. Kit Bricca, of Santa Clara County, and Keith Bray, in Sacramento, are both paid consultants to Western SUN and both are CED members.
>
> 'Many of the people who have been hired and much of the subcontracting through Western SUN that has gone on has been to CED members or people with a strong allegiance to Tom,' complains Allen Mirviss, a lobbyist for SUNRAE, a solar energy group headquartered in Santa Barbara.
>
> Another source says,"Some of them (Western SUN's staffers and consultants) don't necessarily have that much solar expertise, but they're basically people that Tom feels will not stab him in the back. Tom has always been pretty straightforward, privately, that *he* comes first and CED comes first—that the issues are there to be used to organize around and it's not the issues themselves that are important."
>
> (*Berkeley Barb*, 10/4/79)

Others have claimed that Hayden's choice of issues is totally opportunistic, and that once an issue appears to be fading in importance, Hayden will drop it like a hot potato. One environmentalist quoted by the *Barb* claims: "Tom Hayden is the issue piranha of the Left!" Another has claimed that "Before Three Mile Island, Hayden had almost lost interest in the nuclear issue. He just jumped on the bandwagon again when he saw that it was getting hot. How long will he really be interested in solar or cancer or rent control, or any issue? Let's face it, the guy's an opportunist and always has been. The only difference is that now he has

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credibility and money—and these state and federal offices he holds are giving him more of both."

But the opportunism is in fact closely linked to what will help him build his machine. CED's determination to build that machine linked to the government recently paid off in Santa Monica—where "Communitas," a local "self-help" program operating with federal funds, served as a front for CED's rent control campaign.

The *Barb* pointed out that Communitas originated in the Ocean Park Projects, a subsidiary of a leftist religious group in Santa Monica headed by a close ally of Tom Hayden, the Rev. Jim Conn. In April, 1978, Conn applied to the Law Enforcement Assistance Association for a grant of more than $200,000. The grant was supposed to have been used to set up a network of block clubs and neighborhood councils "to provide comprehensive crime prevention services at the grass-roots level."

While a minimal amount of money went into efforts aimed at preventing crime, even more effort, apparently, went into a somewhat unorthodox approach to "crime prevention"—rent control. Communitas co-hosted "information nights" on the CED-backed rent control measure in Santa Monica, working with a CED subsidiary, Santa Monicans for Renters rights, headed by two CED members serving on the Santa Monica City Council. The Right Rev. Conn is the Treasurer of this group, and with Communitas' help, CED "managed to pass its rent measure and elect a handpicked slate of candidates to the rent control board," says the *Barb*.

The point of rent control, as far as CED is concerned, is the *rent control board*—the bureaucratic apparatus which is the real stuff and substance of "economic democracy." It is the point of *all* their proposals and activities, really; it is the real motive behind calls for the quasi-nationalization of the energy industry. One glance at Hayden and CED's activities in California answers the question of why they are pushing solar power: they mean to be the solar bureaucrats of an America powered by windmills and organic gardens, and because solar has all the earmarks of a fad whose time has come, CED domination of SolarCal and Western SUN is only the beginning.

Hayden's support for the nationalization of the oil companies, and the creation of a national energy company makes his "anti-bureaucratic" rhetoric the hypocrisy that it is. "What holds us back is that we're as scared of government bureaucracy as we are of corporate bureaucracy," says Hayden.

> We're afraid that if we nationalize the oil industry, James Schlesinger will come back from retirement and be made the head of Exxon. So we have to be able to liberate government from the hands of the oil companies, and *when we're sure that we have a government we can trust,* then and only then will we be able to take over the oil industry ... *If oil and energy are as crucial to our national security as all of us realize, it's absolutely insane to allow the key to our national security*[!] *to depend on the private profit of big oil.*
>
> *(cited by Barron's,* October 29, 1979)

And so it appears that Hayden does not object to bureaucracy *per se*—only to the unfortunate fact that CED affiliation is not yet a requirement for work in the public sector. He is perfectly willing to hand the energy industry to the same people who brought us the farce known as "public education," the U.S. Post Office, and the crime against humanity known as the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Bureaucracy is bad, says Hayden, unless the bureaucracy is *his* bureaucracy. If only we can get the "right" people in government, *then* we will have a government we can *trust*. This is the sort of illusion which has long blinded the Left to the realities of state power.

CED's campaign to swell the ranks of the "New Class" public sector is not limited to their potential effect on domestic policy. Hayden really means it when he talks about "national security," and his linkage of control of "big oil" to a more nationalistic foreign policy sounds like something out of the neo-conservatives. Writing in the independent socialist weekly *In These Times,* Ronald Radosh reported on an October 3 meeting at Temple Shaaray on Manhattan's East Side, sponsored by the American Jewish Congress:

> The focus of their October 3 meeting was on Israel, the Mideast and American foreign policy. The U.S. has recently been forced to surrender its strategic oil reserves, Hayden informed his audience. The loss of this vital resource was forced on the U.S. by OPEC, *Saudi Arabia in particular.*
>
> Calling this a "national defeat and a national embarassment," Hayden concluded, "There is a new tilt in American foreign policy towards the Arab cause in general."
>
> As evidence of big oil's power, Hayden cited full page ads appearing in California papers, in which Standard Oil "appealed to the American people to become more sympathetic to the Arabs," calling attention to what he termed a "strange coalition between big oil and the PLO," one that included both liberal Democrats and reactionary Republicans. Hayden argued that the same oil companies who were always the first "to attack revolutionaries, to attack radicals on the American campuses, to attack the Chicago Seven ... these same oil companies, this same establishment that is against radical change and violence from campus to campus and country to country suddenly finds itself in an interesting, unusual but nevertheless very real alliance with Yasser Arafat."

Hayden echoed the "blame OPEC" line usually handed out by the militarists, and conjured up visions of "economic strangulation" at the hands of the Arabs. Hayden stressed that "American security" depends on some 200 tankers passing through narrow straits which could be sabotaged by "Palestinian terrorists." And so, as the U.S. builds up a 110,000-man "quick strike force," to guard the "security" of access to oil in the Middle East, Hayden's craven capitulations to the establishment's Middle East scenarios and rationalizations for war preparations, his appeal to the grossest sort of jingosim, is utterly contemptible. Even *In These Times* was forced to conclude that Hayden was "sounding much like Norman Podhoretz," and there is more than a passing resemblance to Stuart Eizenstat's famous memo to President Carter last summer: "We have a better opportunity than ever before," wrote Eizenstat, "to assert leadership over an apparently insoluable problem, and to shift the cause of inflation and energy problems to OPEC to gain credibility with the American people, to offer hope of an eventual solution to regain our political losses."

Hayden's nationalism and abject demagoguery are even more apparent when he claims that "we should not allow the private oil companies to buy from Saudi Arabia or from OPEC. If anybody's going to buy resources from abroad, it should be the federal government and not the secret, conspiratorial companies that now do it."

In the aftermath of Vietnam and of Watergate, of the Pentagon Papers and the Nixon White House transcripts, we are asked to believe that the "big oil companies" are "secret and conspiratorial," while the government is, supposedly, open and "democratic." We are told, by a veteran of the Left, that we cannot rely on a multiplicity of oil companies —instead we must create a state national energy monopoly.

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Oil companies, which find peaceful negotiations with OPEC more realistic and sober than threatening war to secure oil, are not to be trusted—instead we are asked to place our energy future in the hands of those who are prepared to go to war in the Middle East over Israel and oil.

This, we are told, is going to lead us toward *peace!*

The experience of two World Wars, plus the accumulated experience of more than thirty years of Cold War politics, in which the domestic economy is manipulated by the government in the service of an interventionist foreign policy, and an interventionist foreign policy manipulated in the service of a controlled domestic economy, counts for nothing. By adding his voice to the anti-OPEC chorus, by blithely dismissing, as he did speaking before the American Jewish Congress, the grievances of the Palestinians, and spreading the canard that they cannot even be considered without "dismantling the state of Israel," by painting a sinister picture of "big oil" conspiring with the Arabs, Hayden's politics are acquiring a nationalist tinge. Apparently, this is his true means of cashing-in on the alleged "right-wing" trend currently sweeping the country. The only question left is: how far to the right is Hayden willing to go?

The answer, odd as it may seem, is probably to be found in an examination of the CED approach to "battling" the giant corporations.

For despite their "anti-corporate" rhetoric, Hayden and his followers do *not* propose to eliminate the excessive political power of some large corporations, but rather to *control* those corporations, to use corporate power for their own ends.

Nowhere can this be seen more clearly than in the case of the Chrysler bailout. On a recent trip to Detroit, Tom Hayden sided with UAW President Doug Fraser's proposal that the U.S. bail out Chrysler by partially taking it over. The government should bail out the giant corporation, said Hayden, taking in exchange for its bestowal of taxpayers' money some stock equity in the corporation. Like John Kenneth Galbraith, Hayden favors the bailout of large corporations—provided that government gets a larger share of decision-making in the corporation itself. Hayden has even endorsed UAW's Doug Fraser's latest ploy: to sell out the raises of Chrysler employees *in exchange for Fraser's own seat on Chrysler's board. This* is the meaning of Hayden's call for "consumer" and "labor" and "public" (i.e. government) representation on corporate boards. *This* is the meaning of Hayden's claim that "in terms of alternative energy development, our position in California is a mirror image of what I think would be appropriate nationally; that is, a partnership between competitive enterprise and government." Shades of John Connally! Nothing could be more clear: what we are witnessing here is not any campaign against "giant corporations," but a campaign to control them and harness their power in ways Hayden finds congenial. Like earlier groups in the 1920s and 1930s, Hayden began by attacking the corporations, and ends by envying them their power to shape the political and economic environment.

So watch the programs and proposals as they interlock and merge together:

(1) The CED campaigns against "landlords," in favor of rent control, which will produce massive housing shortages, stepped up scapegoating of private apartment owners, public outcries against inadequate housing, and a carefully orchestrated public clamor for greater "public"—i.e. government—investment in, planning for and control of, the housing market.

(2) CED opposes a "runaway shop"—a plant or company which wants to relocate. They favor laws limiting plant shifts from one area to another, and requiring companies to pay communities which they "desert" what Hayden calls "reparations." This literally feudalistic measure subjects companies to the totalitarian control of local governments, which can exploit them as they wish, until they are exhausted and, probably, taken over by "boards" representing "the public"—i.e. the CED. Liberalism once meant the free mobility of capital, both domestically and in the international arena, spreading jobs and wealth to the disadvantaged. The movement of capital to the south, providing job opportunities for the poor, is now denounced because it allegedly puts people out of work in the North. Investment overseas, which was a hallmark of the internationalism of classical liberalism, promoting free trade and growing standards of living throughout the world—this country itself was built on foreign capital—is now denounced by the CED's Steven Rivers as "treason"!

(3) CED favors state subsidies and planning to encourage and shape the development of solar power—under the control, wherever possible, of CED associates and those of a similar ideological orientation.

(4) CED promotes the formation of a national energy corporation, to assume total responsibility for purchases of foreign oil and other energy-related raw materials.

(5) CED builds a political machine for leader Tom Hayden—at taxpayers' expense.

(6) CED leaders shift opportunistically from issue to issue, all the while clinging tenaciously to the ultimate (and unnamed) goal, every step being perceived by activists as a "transition" to an unnamed end.

(7) CED scapegoats other countries, prattles about "national security" and the need to further control the economy in order to deal with recalcitrant foreigners whose natural resources are needed for the good of "the nation."

(8) CED enlists selected "consumerists"—of a particular ideological stripe, favoring government "representation" of consumers. It recruits selected "environmentalists"—who share a fondness for state solutions to problems. It courts selected "labor leaders"—who then sell out their rank-and-file for a share in corporate power. It grooms selected representatives of "the public"—who share an elitist vision of what is in the "public interest." All these are wound together under the aegis of an all-powerful state busily shaping (with populist rhetoric) a "business-government partnership."

Well, what does this amount to? Does it amount to "economic democracy," or to something quite different?

Perhaps it resembles nothing so much as an earlier form of "economic democracy," which was touted, some years ago, as insuring that "within the Corporations, the interests of producers and consumers and employees, individuals and associations are interlocked and integrated in a unique and univocal way, while all types of interests are brought under the aegis of the state."

How far to the right is Tom Hayden willing to go? Will he approve of this quotation as an adequate description of his program? If so, perhaps he is willing to go all the way to the politics of that quotation's author—Mario Palmieri, visionary prophet of the corporate state, and philosopher of Italian fascism. ❑

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JOHN CONNALLY

THE POLITICS OF KICKING ASS

TOM HAZLETT

Jimmy Carter may not have done much for America, but he *has* performed a gargantuan favor for one John Connally: President Jimmy has made the electorate lust for a good ol' sonofabitch in the White House. While Jimmy emerged from the obscurity of Plains, Georgia, wearing nothing but a smile and a halo, John Connally is now surging forth on the devil's mandate. And Big John is countin' on Americans who want to trade brother Jimmy's Gospel of Love for Governor Connally's politics of power. As one out-of-work Republican intellectual endorsed the Texan recently, "Connally knows how to kick-ass just like they did in the Navy. He knows how to reward his friends and pay back his enemies."

If Carter truly believes that "the meek shall inherit the earth," Connally knows that they will only if the big shots get drunk and hand it over to them—and Connally sees it as his mission to make sure the big shots stay sober.

Connally's cynical smirk could only have a political chance in a year when it would play against Carter's goofy grin. Just as Nixon made a market for silly shibboleths and meaningless moralizing, Carter has made the political world safe for "kicking ass" and Mr. Connally (to say nothing of a jubilant Mr. Kennedy) should be forever grateful.

Dealing with the "philosophy" of Mr. Connally is like considering the "charisma" of Howard Cosell. As one writer puts it, "Connally has no beliefs, only interests." The man's nose simply points in the direction of power. He can sniff it out at enormous distances, from the pungent oil fields of Texas to the odoriferous Oval office. He possesses the metaphysics of a Doberman versed in Macchiavelli.

Yet if one were to confront the man with just this charge, his most likely response would be, "thank you." Here is a man who boasts of what most people are embarrassed by. And this is what makes him such a fitting antidote to Carter: The President boasts of the most obvious and tired public virtues and the crowd chokes on his goody two-shoes sweetness. Big John pleases those subjects who are ready to trade the Sunday School Teacher for the town bully.

And this, to be honest, is a helluva constituency. Millions of Americans have, after all, been in the Navy, or a college fraternity, or the local police force, or have ridden in a motorcycle gang. It may seem odd, then, that Big John's most boisterous backers are to be found in more refined quarters: in America's corporate board rooms. The key is to see that for them, for the Big Business crowd, John Connally is macho in pinstripes, their Hell's Angel in a three piece suit.

How they love to see Gov. Connally varoom through Washington, scaring the Hell out of each and every special interest group competing with the assigned lobbyists of Business. As President Nixon confided to Arthur Burns, "only three men in America understand the use of power. I do. John Connally does. And I guess Nelson [Rockefeller] does."

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If businessmen don't have much use for philosophical ideals, they have many a use for pull. They see John Connally as the Arnold Schwarznegger of American politics; and when Big John flexes, corporate checking accounts ripple.

Though only fourth-place joggers in the Republican race, the Connally boys have already out-cadged Reagan, Kennedy, Baker and the sitting (lame) duck in D.C. As the chief of a prosperous Southern banking concern relates, "one guy is rallying all the support in the business community, and he is that tall, wavy-haired fellow from Texas." And Lewis Foy, head honcho at Bethlehem Steel, passes on the tale that at a recent New York City dinner party for 26 of the most important business executives in the nation, a secret, just-for-the-hell-of-it poll revealed the wavy-haired fellow scored a clean sweep. Occidental Petroleum Chairman Joseph Baud sums it up: "Connally understands business."

That is true—but sad. For when John Connally boasts of the virtues of free enterprise, he actually means an economy *free of* enterprise, a market dominated not by entrepreneurship but by political influence. How a former Treasury Secretary with his unsavory record on the question of economic freedom could be taken with a straight face on this score is a clue to the desperation and ethical nonchalance of the business community itself.

Connally originally went to Washington because he had a job to do—a job on the American economy. Coming to power in December 1970, he quickly maneuvered Richard Nixon toward the largest budget deficits in peace-time history, into shutting the gold window in a repudiation of foreign debts (thereby slicing away the last milligram of monetary restraint and enabling the incumbent to trade an election year "boom" for a record-setting post-election bout of galloping inflation), and most heinously, to economy-wide wage and price controls. Connally was, characteristically, a leader in the controls game and became their chief advocate in White House councils. As the *Wall Street Journal* notes, "while Mr. Connally dismisses his 1971 price controls program as something the country 'had to go through,' in 1971 he saw it as a model for the future. Although the program was mercifully cut short in 1974—with inflation accelerating at three times its pre-controls pace—Mr. Connally had seen the program as lasting at least 5 years and suggested it should never be entirely abandoned." Never mind that a couple of Princeton econometricians have recently found that those controls actually *raised* the cost-of-living, when all relevant costs (including the costs of shortages—like waiting in line and the price of substitutes) are properly included. The sensational point is that Connally today has the gall to pass himself off as a champion of the private sector.

As we shall see presently, the sector Connally represents *is* very private (and very exclusive) indeed. But it has not one whit to do with the concept of a competitive market economy, as anyone who saw Big John urge President Nixon to make the act of competitive bidding an illegal endeavor should be able to figure out for himself. The remarkable political legacy of this historical boner is that Connally's army now justifies his price controls error ("they were a mistake," he concedes), on the grounds that (according to *Time*) "businessmen wanted them at the time."

Free enterprise be damned; what's good for the Dow Jones Index is good for America!! (The DJI jumped 33 points on August 16, 1971.) Not only does Big John shelve his "free enterprise" mumbo jumbo the instant the big corporations seek protection from union wage demands, but he rushes out with oodles of taxpayers' tribute to subsidize any business enterprise thought to be failing in the market and big enough to suit John Connally. During the Nixon years, the Treasury Chief was right there to nurse the helpless Lockheed conglomerate with $250-million in taxpayer guarantees, and Penn Central with another $200-million (Penn Central went broke even with this largesse). But Big John had even bigger plans: his proposal (adopted by an eager Administration) was to undertake 3-4 billion dollars annually in subsidies for high technology research (apparently "free enterprise" is inoperative in the realm of R&D). He also lobbied for millions for an SST program which the British and French have just abandoned after several billions in losses, *and* he enthusiastically urged a revival of Herbert Hoover's Reconstruction Finance Corporation to sprinkle the New York Stock Exchange with "seed money." Why redistributing monies from workers and taxpayers to the stockholders of major corporations is called for is a deep mystery that this proponent of "free enterprise" fails to discuss in his Chamber of Commerce orations; a failure on the part of Big John's corporate friends to attract enough money on their own could presumably *not* be the problem.

President Connally of U.S.A., Inc.

Perhaps it is simply that Mr. Connally is Texas personified and believes that absolutely nothing is bad, so long as it's B-I-G. Even socialism gains a sacred respectability when it is applied at the Corporate level. As the *New Republic*'s Stephen Chapman aptly notes, "Connally stands for free enterprise for the poor, welfare for the rich. ... If ever a politician has earned the right to be called a tool of corporate America, it is John Connally. And if the G.O.P. nominates this grotesque caricature of a Republican for president, it will have forfeited any right to claim that it is anything but the political arm of America's Country Clubs."

What a nation of boobs we have become to see this

"What better training for political ethics than under the very wing of LBJ?"

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mountebank taken seriously. As the mother of price controls, for example, John Connally looms as the guiltiest of all the Potomac gang in culpability for the present energy shortage. As UCLA economist Clay Laforce has recently commented, "it is no accident that an OPEC cartel conspired to restrict output and raise prices only after the U.S. petroleum industry was in the harness of wage and price controls." When the central role of the Connally-Nixon price controls is examined in the context of the oil shortage, it becomes plain that the Connally crusade is much less concerned with the health of capitalism than it is with the wealth of selected capitalists. Connally's metaphysic amounts to socialism in theory, capital gains in practice.

All of this is sour medicine to anyone with less than a million invested in the market, and prompts us to sneer at the 80 percent of American business that is lining up behind the scoundrel. Steady your ticker-tape for this mighty list of mighty backers: the Chief Executives of General Foods (James Ferguson), Southern Pacific (Benjamin Biaggini), H&R Block (Henry Block), Union Oil (Fred Hartley), Citicorp (Walter Wriston), and Textron (Joseph Collinson); the Presidents of Boeing (E. H. Boullioun) and Occidental (Joseph Baird); and former Chief Executive Officers of A.T.&T. (John DeButts), Marriott (J. Willard Marriott), Texas Instruments (J. Erik Jonsson), General Foods (C. W. Cook), and American Airlines (C. R. Smith). And why not? To these movers and shakers, Big John is the "heads we win, tails you lose" candidate.

Perfectly fitted to his role as Connally's Campaign Chairman, Winton ("Red") Blount is a time-tested practitioner of the art of profit at the public trough. Best known for his fine civic service as President Nixon's Postmaster General (and mastermind of today's reformed, "private enterprise" postal service—wasn't that a marvelous innovation?) "Red" Blount is less well known for his financial acumen. But those close to the magnificent Blount estate in Montgomery, Alabama, are filled with tales of his expertise in utilizing a finely crafted combination of government World War II surplus machinery, government contacts, and government contracts to weave a web of fortune estimated at $35-million in 1972. President Mobutu and the Shah are thought to have raided their governments for slightly more than this sum and are denounced accordingly, yet Winton thrives nonetheless. He was last in the news for losing to John Sparkman for a U.S. Senate seat and, oh yes, that matter of a lucrative postal delivery contract in a rural San Diego county precinct which landed in the lap of one of Mr. Blount's immediate family at a time when "Red" himself was at the helm. It is significant, but not surprising, that such a track record is looked on in Connally circles as qualification not for being excluded from the campaign team, but for running it.

But back to the candidate himself. What are we to expect if Connally should hustle his way into the top spot? Any prediction on this question should certainly be accompanied by an oil tanker of caveats: Connally does *not* make the claim "I'll never lie to you." He would rather boast something on the order of, "I'll never lie unless I have to get a tough job done—but by God I'll get the damn thing done!" (Patriots and virgin Republicans dying to be overcome rise and cheer with a deafening tumult at this point.) And no one will ever claim that LBJ's protege has not mastered the science of politalk. In a virtuoso performance for *Politics Today,* Connally responded to a question on the Bakke decision thusly: "I think I agree with the Bakke decision, although I think that some of the criticism on both sides is probably justified ... which tells me that the Bakke decision was probably a wise one." This Texas toughie has thus managed to stake a firm stance, a) in agreement with the decision, b) in agreement with the criticism on one side of the decision, and c) in agreement with criticism on the other side of the decision. Big Bad John does indeed keep his options open!

In foreign affairs Connally has lately resorted to an amalgam of publicity stunts, mostly on Mideast issues, but there is no clue that President Connally would do anything more than contract out to Henry Kissinger to take care of everything international just as his two GOP cohorts Nixon and Ford did. Henry the K is just the kind of operator Connally respects: bright, bold and possessing not a trace of principle.

On domestic matters Connally is partial to the grand visions of the nearly-impeached Imperial, although he is by no means hostile to the other giants who have ballooned federal powers in the past. He is known as a political clone of the late great Lyndon Johnson, and even LBJ's second most tragic war, the War on Poverty, fails to frighten Big John. He also agrees with President Carter's confident assertion of four years ago that the "solution" to our problems is making government more "efficient." Presumably the efficiency under Connally would be applied not with the carrot but with the stick.

Efficient doesn't necessarily mean inexpensive, however. For all his schemes to dole out tax funds to enterprises which haven't managed a profit in the competitive marketplace, Connally sounds amazingly convinced of the virtue of taxing away the profits of those which have. While political necessity (i.e., Ronald Reagan) may force Connally to budge, the Texan began his campaign criticizing the Republican Party for advocating a 30 per cent tax cut in the '78 elections. As the *New York Times'* Adam Clymer writes, "for all his conservative image, the Texan does not spend much time arguing for whittling the Federal government down to size ... he has a vision of government solving problems."

This, at any rate, is a novel idea. Government has certainly invested more time to date in learning how to create them. But Connally's dynamic personality will turn this all around. The way he sees it, our dilemma (inflation, energy shortage, taxes, poverty—you know the prognosis) stems not from any mistake in government policy or misconception as to the role of private activity and bureaucratic authority, but rather is simply a result of an inexplicable attitude-adjustment problem. The road to recovery is a nation-wide pep rally—to get us out of a "state of indecision, guilty of vacillation, guilty of looking inward and engaging in self-flagellation, concerning itself with all the weaknesses, the frailties, all the shortcomings of a great society." Political economy hasn't been like this since high school.

Consider Governor Connally's peculiar approach to the balance of payments problem. Any junior college graduate can see that our trade deficit is a lot bigger problem for our foreign creditors than it is for us in that it means that we are ending up with a lot of their goods and services while they are ending up with lots of IOUs. But to Connally there is something anti-American about this subsidy to America. He juts out his chest and lets loose with his most famous announcement: "If you don't take our citrus, if you don't take our beef, if you don't take some of our other commodities, we'd be delighted to see you sitting on the docks of Yokohama in your Toyotas, in your Datsuns, eating your oranges, watching your own television sets."

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Go John! Tell 'em to keep those Toyotas—we don't want 'em! We'd rather have those federal reserve notes to drive us around town! Rah! Rah! America!

Now we're talking John Connally's language. This is a guy who really doesn't have a clue as to what is going on in the real world, but wants to get right in there and lead it. It could easily be said that John Connally is the thinking man's F.D.R. (pardon the contradiction in terms). In point of fact, Connally expresses great affection for the fabled New Dealer. And as Joseph Fay, president of Houston Natural Gas Company, offers in what is presumed to be endorsement, "if John gets to the White House, it won't be eight peaceful years like Eisenhower. John is very forceful and active. This is the kind of man who produces programs."

Connally's New Deal

Connally's New Deal would presumably offer such welcome innovations as those provided by the, at last count, nine constitutional amendments he has proposed, covering everything you ever wanted to amend but were afraid to contemplate. Examples: a single, six year term for president, 2 six year terms for senators, 3 four year terms for congressional servants, a stop busing measure, approval of federal judges by a Senate vote every decade, and a marvelous Jimmy Carter-like gimmick forcing congresspersons to spend at least three months of each year making deals in their home districts. But whatever his zeal for further constitutional amendments, Connally appears to have little regard for many of our past ones. Take the 13th Amendment outlawing slavery, one that you might have imagined to be free from doubt. Connally has boldly proposed compulsory national service for 18-year-olds in order, he says, "to provide discipline for young people." The government sentence is all the more comical in light of Connally's self-description: "On many of the so-called libertarian civil rights issues, I think I'm a liberal in the Jeffersonian sense." Libertarians for slavery, unite!

In point of fact, the Connally campaign—led by a candidate who is in love with the grand and dramatic as much as President Richard M. Nixon was—is a veritable volcano spewing forth oddball programs and policies. He charges that human rights complaints against such allies as South Korea and the Phillipines encourage "communist expansionism." His cure for the educational mess is not to cut Federal involvement but to enlarge its "vocational training programs" (chalk another one up for Wall Street). And while shunning Senator Kennedy's socialized medical plan he offers an expanded Federal role in "preventive health care."

Yet the top choice for the Connallyism-of-the-year award has to be, in conservative columnist John Lofton's words, "a Rube Goldberg-type National Dividend Plan which would dole out, tax-free, billions of dollars in federal corporate taxes to those individuals voting in previous national elections." How many generations of politicians have racked their brains to come up with a scheme to make sure their constituency stays bought? Well Big John has got it! He's got a program which requires him to pay off only upon delivery of the damn office!

It takes a man with a strong amoral fibre to toss such suggestions into the presidential pot, but then John Connally has had many moons to cultivate what may be politely termed *political* ethics. What better training for political ethics than in Connally's home state and under the very wing of Lyndon Baines Johnson?

Johnson was very, very, fond of the young Connally. After he helped LBJ in his first congressional victory, the upstart was in turn "helped" to get into the radio business: Lyndon dealt him an FCC license for KVET in Austin. It being Connally's move, *his* next favor was to manage Johnson's first Senatorial crusade in 1948.

Here, Connally really earned his stripes. For when the tally came showing that Johnson has lost his bid by 114 votes, a "corrected vote" was brought in (or bought in) from South Texas. And lo and behold, the new shipment counted a Johnson mandate of—no chuckling please—202-1. The horseplay earned Johnson the appellation "landslide Lyndon," but may have also brought the office of President to both scoundrels.

Such a record of service brought Connally high prestige and influence in the ranks of the Democratic Party. After taking a decade out of politics to make himself a millionaire, Big John went to Washington as President Kennedy's Navy Secretary, but quit after a few months to run for Governor of Texas. His three terms (six years) in Austin left a mixed record of achievement on fiscal issues, but the current salesman of strong leadership might be chagrined at *Time* magazine's assessment: "even his friends admit that he was often an indifferent administrator, bored by the daily routine of office."

Well, the Republicans put the zip back into Connally's lifestyle, for he found the rigors of price control enforcement and the thrill of handing out hundred-million-dollar subsidies to be even more fun than an amended vote count. It was assuredly a most fascinated man who sank his teeth into the labors of a re-election campaign in the historic year of 1972. As the man Richard Nixon was grooming as his heir, he had access to the innermost councils and carte blanche when he operated out of town.

Of course, such a long leash allowed Big John to sniff out some great deals, including the one that led to the infamous milk scandal. As Richard Nixon's tapes unerringly reported,

"The private sector Connally represents is very private (and very exclusive) indeed."

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Connally was in the Oval Office in 1971 leading the Chief by the paw toward doling out millions more in tax subsidies to bid up the price of what milk producers sell: "They [milk producers] are going to make their associations and alliances this year and they're going to spend a lot of money." Connally's counsel carried some weight, and history proved his theory: when Nixon bought the package and upped price supports 27¢ per hundredweight, CREEP swallowed up $2-million in dairy industry pledges. Perhaps this illustrates the "new alliance" of industry and the state which Connally heralds?

What fascinates both the media and Connally about this episode is that the Treasury Secretary ended up on trial for accepting a $10,000 cash stipend for making the aforementioned argument to the President. When he was acquitted of accepting the bribe (a long-time Connally associate was, curiously, convicted of successfully offering it) by a predominantly black Washington, D.C., jury, it gave him the opportunity to bellow: "I'm the only certified not-guilty candidate running in either party." (One wishes a jury had been convened to hear the evidence on the 1948 vote "count" in South Texas.) Even operating under the leaky assumption that Secretary Connally enjoyed no personal windfall on this milk money transaction, we are then left with a chump who views political extortion as something more than a means by which to raise a few bucks to put his kids through college, who sees it as a positive contribution to society! As one Texas Connally-watcher says, "The real danger in the milk fund case is in the manipulation of Government policies to fit business interests, encouraging Nixon to raise milk price supports to extract political money." The implication, in the eyes of former *Texas Observer* publisher Ronnie Dugger, is clear: "Corporate interests and Government interests? They're all the same to him."

Yet, the Nixon White House proved to be a great frustration for this connoisseur of the free lunch. Not because Nixon ignored his many hints at how to buy off whole industries or destroy entire marketplaces—the President went down the line on such matters. The frustration came in regard to the "final solution" that only John Connally could suggest to surmount the highest of Nixon's mountains: the Watergate tapes. Surging forth with Texas confidence, the Treasury Secretary belted out his version of the public's "right to know": "call in a group of witnesses, make sure it's in the open, but burn them." Not even Richard Nixon could walk that last mile with Big Bad John.

Nonetheless, Connally was enraptured with the GOP in 1973. So much, in fact, that he decided in that year to make the Big Switch—"when the party was down," he notes, "so that I can't be accused of opportunism." No doubt his timing was a key, for as late as 1970 he had been stoutly counseling fellow conservatives in the Texas Democratic Party to keep a safe distance from George Bush's Republican campaign for U.S. Senate. "Some of you are inclined to feel at home in the Republican Party," he had observed. "But the trouble is they won't give you a key to the house. If you think you can move in and have any influence with the Republicans, you're making a bad mistake." It surely must have taken big changes to make this political animal step to a different drummer in less than three quarters of a presidential term, and, indeed, two major blasts did hit John Connally's life. First, Lyndon Johnson passed away, thereby releasing his protege from any loyalties—or any skeletons—the old pol might bring to bear. And second, the GOP plummeted into Watergate. Now, while this shameful archipelago of public shenanigans sent the mass of Americans into outrage, it had quite the opposite effect on Brother John—he gained a new respect for the Grand Old Party. Whatever detriment Watergate may have provoked amongst the others, it only convinced John Connally that these were his kind of folks. At last, Connally found the GOP a viable political apparatus from which to fly his flag.

Soon a vulnerable electorate will peer up from Monday Night Football just long enough to see this impressive figure of a man make impassioned pleas on a variety of topics. It will be a measure of America's desperation to count his converts: it will tell us the number of adults judged to be in workable running order who feel the moment has come to throw out honest debate in favor of a godfather who offers to treat his own family of voters very gently.

Whatever the crazy outcome of 1980, the record will read that there was no shortage of warnings on the consequences of a President Connally. Arthur Burns states that John Connally is a "dangerous man." Mo Udall shivers: "John Connally scares me more than any other politician. He likes power and knows how to use it, but he doesn't have any real beliefs." Th ex-Press Secretary to Lady Bird Johnson, Liz Carpenter, characterizes him as "a political transvestite who at the battle of the Alamo would've organized Texans for Santa Ana." And when President Connally lays his finger on the button, try to forget the assessment of his biographers Jack Keever and Ann Fears Crawford: "What worries many is his mind appears to have no fail-safe device. Once committed, even mistakenly, there is no turning back."

Still no one is a better critic of the Connally psyche than ... John Connally. As he steadies his aim on an opponent he would love to be Teddy Kennedy (manslaughter takes a bribery acquittal in the poker game of politics) he bravely chirps that "issues are not going to be that important." What rates with Big John is style. "When I think of presidential leadership," he dreams, "I think ... of Franklin Roosevelt. Whether you agreed with him or not he gave clear direction and was able to persuasively appeal to people."

But much to John Connally's disappointment, issues may well play a role in the events of 1980. And he has reason to fear that possibility. Particularly if the issue of John Connally comes up. As Douglas Hallett wrote for the *Wall Street Journal:*

> Mr. Connally's biggest flaw is that he is not what he says he is: He is not a 'can-do' public man. The best of his public record is a testament to the limitations of what government should try to accomplish. And the worst demonstrates that, however enchanting its proponent, the kind of government-business "partnership" which devastated the Republican Party 50 years ago is even less viable today.

It was John Bowden Connally, Jr., whom President Nixon singled out to boil down his options on milk price supports—a decision which would affect millions of taxpayers and consumers—in 1971. "You're in this thing for everything you can get out of it," Connally instantly summarized. Today, out of power, he strokes the American voter with powerful posturing and stirring phrases in quest of the power which that voter may bestow upon him.

And Big John hopes like hell that the voters, unlike his former boss, are in this thing for something significantly less than everything they can get out of it. ❑

Tom Hazlett, staffer at the International Institute for Economic Research, broadcast journalist, and Ph.D. candidate in economics at UCLA, has written for *Inquiry, Reason* and *National Review,* as well as for *LR.*

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CONSERVATISM ON THE RUN

RALPH RAICO

One sign of the increasing visibility and importance of the libertarian movement is that we are coming under increasing attack from our enemies. Last spring, for instance, we were attacked editorially in the left-liberal Catholic magazine, *Commonweal;* and *The Nation* magazine, another left-wing publication, devoted a two-part article criticizing the growing influence of libertarian ideas, in particular as presented in *Inquiry* magazine.

But the most concerted assault to date has come not from the left, but from the right. The October 27 issue of *Human Events* had an attack by Joseph L. Gentili which relied heavily on *National Review's* June 8 issue. In that issue, *National Review* dedicated not one but *two* cover articles to an attempt to demolish the Cato Institute, *Inquiry* magazine, and *Libertarian Review.* One was by Ernest van den Haag — a Manhattan lay-analyst; the other was by a certain Lawrence V. Cott. In the issue of August 3 there was a follow-up from many of our friends, and a response from van den Haag. I would like to use this particular conservative attack on us as an illuminating example of what is wrong with conservatism.

First of all, as to what motivated the attack. It's obvious, of course, that it was the result of a top-level strategic decision at *National Review.* To my mind, it's equally clear—and not a little gratifying—that that means they're scared. As van den Haag says, "the libertarian ideology, [which] was once regarded as a crank nostrum is becoming a fad." He also complains, significantly, that "some conservatives feel that libertarianism deserves support." What evidently worries him and other conservatives is that our philosophy is beginning to exert a strong attraction both on business people and on students and young people who may start out as conservatives.

As for the business people—many of them are of course believers in the free market and private property. On the other hand, they don't have much use for the "philosophical" rigamarole that the conservative intellectuals try to superadd to those ideas. The ISI Summer Seminars are a good example of what I'm talking about: they'll have, say, Yale Brozen talking about the free market, and then they'll have Gerhart Niemayer talking about Communism as a gnostic heresy traceable to Joachim of Flora. Well, it's clear that a constituency exists among American business people for the first set of ideas. The job of the conservative managers is to convince them that free market ideas are somehow linked to a quite separate philosophical and cultural critique—one that is rather foreign to the American tradition.

Similarly with college students. By now it must be painfully apparent to the conservative leaders that libertarianism, because of its intellectual consistency and vigor, exerts a natural and very powerful attraction on the more intelligent among the students. But a movement which, like conservatism, is more and more left with only the dregs of the college-age generation is a movement that is headed for oblivion. And for myself, I can only wish them godspeed.

There is another motivation for the attack which should be mentioned. The conservatives are experiencing a kind of annoyed envy. What has produced this envy is the fact that the personal financial generosity of one of our most prominent libertarians now permits us a much, much greater diffusion of our ideas than was ever before possible. The cover of the issue of *National Review* which contains the attack on us has as its headline: "STRANGE ALLIANCE. Anarchists, backed by corporate big money, infiltrate the freedom movement." ("Freedom movement," by the way, is the name they give to their collection of Pentagon-worshippers and friends of the Chilean junta.) In his man-in-the-street envy, Lawrence V. Cott goes so far as to complain about the Cato Institute's "plush suite in a modern office building at the base of San Francisco's picturesque Telegraph Hill."

As Helmut Schoeck showed in his brilliant book on the subject, *envy* is one of the commonest of human emotions, and its role should never be underestimated. It is this present conjunction within the libertarian movement, of powerful ideas and generous funding for those ideas, that sticks in the throats of the conservatives and our other enemies.

Now, for the critique in *National Review.* Sometimes the statements are based simply on ignorance. Thus, van den Haag asserts that "libertarians have turned away from their anarchist ancestors toward a free market ... old-style

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One of the most prominent publicists of the Old Right, author and journalist John T. Flynn opposed American participation in World War II and Korea and argued tirelessly against the development of an American welfare-warfare state with an imperialist foreign policy. He was unwelcome in *National Review* because he "did not understand the nature of the Soviet Military threat." (Ronald Radosh, "Preface," *As We Go Marching* by John T. Flynn, Free Life Editions, 1973.)

THE BETTMAN ARCHIVE

anarchists were opposed to private property and capitalism." Here van den Haag just shows that he's unaware of the existence of 19th century *individualist* anarchists like Lysander Spooner and Benjamin Tucker, and doesn't even know much about a proto-anarchist like Henry David Thoreau. Van den Haag also appears to think that Hayek is a member of the Chicago school of economists, on the basis of the fact that Hayek taught at the University of Chicago. He doesn't realize that Hayek never taught in the economics department, but was on the Committee on Social Thought; and that his methodology is radically different from the methodology of Stigler, Friedman, and their various followers.

There is an interminable discussion of some of Murray Rothbard's ideas on criminal justice, as if these were absolutely crucial to the libertarian position. And van den Haag also holds up to ridicule some of Rothbard's strategic ideas. He quotes with implied horror Rothbard's statement, that "what is desperately needed ... is the development of a strong cadre of 'professional' libertarians." Here I'm at a loss as to what the point is—I would have thought that the formation of *conservatives* cadres is precisely the reason for being of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute and Young Americans for Freedom, organizations which are staffed by professional conservatives.

Probably the oddest claim of the conservatives is that libertarians are soft on Communism—and not simply on the question of who started the Cold War, and whether the Soviet Union has a particularly expansionist foreign policy. According to van den Haag, "on major political issues [*including*] *the domestic nature of the Soviet Union,* the libertarian movement has consistently taken extremist leftist positions" (emphasis added). Now, this is a truly startling claim. What evidence does van den Haag produce for it?

The evidence consists of two items. There is first of all Rothbard's statement in *LR,* "a democratic and relatively far freer United States has been more aggressive and imperialistic in foreign affairs than a relatively totalitarian Russia or China." Van den Haag comments: "To write of a 'relatively totalitarian Russia or China' is as helpful as writing, 'Hell is relatively hotter than heaven.' Only a person who believes the difference is unimportant would write in this manner." Since Rothbard referred to the United States as "democratic and relatively *far* freer," van den Haag's point strikes me as idiotically picayune.

The second, and last, piece of evidence for the claim that libertarians have taken an extremist leftist position on the *domestic* nature of the Soviet regime is the writings of Thomas Szasz.

What is it that proves to van den Haag that Tom Szasz has the same views on the Soviet Union that a Communist has? Well, it was a series of articles in *Inquiry* magazine, where Tom said: "For the past decade the Western press has been waxing indignant over what it calls the political misuse of psychiatry in the Soviet Union. This is a case of selective indignation with a vengeance ... The actual figure [of the number of dissidents committed to mental hospitals in Russia] is still a small fraction of the hundreds of thousands of persons who are compulsorily hospitalized in the West—not since 1962, but annually—for their 'beliefs.'"

Van den Haag's comment: "The United States Government does not use psychiatric confinement selectively to imprison its critics; the Soviet government does. Dr. Szasz either willfully ignores this difference (in which case he writes in bad faith), or does not understand it (in which case he is incompetent). There is a third possibility which he would but which I cannot rule out: an unmanageable obsession has taken possession of him."

Now, that last remark is rather piggish, I would say, and it gives us the measure of the respect conservatives really have for *civility.* But the fact is that Szasz's major concern for a number of years now has been the vast, tax-fed apparatus for the systematic degradation of human beings called institutional psychiatry. This has been an "unmanageable obsession" for him in the same sense that hatred of the political power of the Catholic Church was an "unmanageable obsession" for Voltaire. Unlike conservatives, who tend to be comfortable with the status quo, classical liberals and libertarians have usually shown a deadly serious concern with *injustice.* A long time ago, Szasz—poor, deranged fellow that he is—was made *angry* at the life-destroying injustice he found in his own field—at psychiatrists who performed aversion-therapy on homosexuals at Atascadero and Vacaville in California, or who performed psychosurgery on rambunctious black kids at the University of Mississippi hospital in Jackson. The point Szasz was making in his *Inquiry* articles—a very valid one—is that there is something hypocritical and cheap about Western psychiatrists protesting *Soviet* psychiatric abuses, practiced against Russian dissident *intellectuals*—people with whom the Western psychiatrists can identify—while remaining completely silent on the injustices committed against *ordinary,* non-intellectual people by psychiatrists in our own society every day. It's not that Szasz is unaware of the political uses of psychiatry in Russia. But his view, in my opinion, is a deeper, more comprehensive, and more *compassionate* one than the conventional one and goes beyond the easy, self-righteous denunciations of the hour.

The claim that libertarians are soft on the nature of the *internal* Communist regime is one I personally would find offensive, if I didn't find it so ridiculous. I am now and have always been an anti-Communist; some time ago, for

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THE BETTMAN ARCHIVE

Felix Morley, who worked on the *Baltimore Sun* under H.L. Mencken, edited the *Washington Post* during the 1930s, and founded *Human Events* in 1945, also found himself out of favor on the Right by the early 1950s because of his opposition to the Cold War and his belief that the United States should "avoid entangling alliances" in its foreign policy and refrain from minding other countries' business for them.

instance, I contributed a long review to *LR* on the new biography of Leon Trotsky by Irving Howe, where I was rather critical of Communism. You'll find that the review not only cites the fairly obvious facts of Bolshevik repression, killings, and mass famine, but it also shows the connection between these atrocities and the Marxist ideal of the abolition of the market and the price system; and it also brings out the connections of Bolshevism to the positivist program for the future society.

In this sense, *all* libertarians are anti-Communists, since libertarianism is the *antithesis* of Communism.

A more conventional and predictable criticism that the writers for *National Review* make is that we misapprehend the nature, not of the internal Communist regime, but of Communist foreign policy, particularly of Russian imperialism. Lawrence V. Cott says, simply, that "Rothbard is an apologist for Stalin"; and van den Haag asserts of libertarians that "they went to Stalin's school."

Yet—what is it that's supposed to demonstrate our "pro-Communism" and "pro-Stalinism"? Purely and simply that we favor a non-interventionist foreign policy—including the withdrawal of American forces from foreign countries, a suggestion that causes van den Haag to blanch with horror—and that libertarian scholars tend to be revisionist on the origins of the Cold War. On such questions, van den Haag states, "the libertarian position is indistinguishable from the Communist position."

This type of mindless smear of anyone who takes exception to the globalist policies of those who direct our foreign affairs is not new. It is precisely analogous to the charge brought against the non-interventionists in 1940 and 1941—people like John T. Flynn, Frank Chodorov, Albert Jay Nock, and Felix Morley. Those men held—as I do—that the origins of the European conflict could be found in the unjust and vindictive peace treaty forced on Germany at Versailles. They also recommended that the United States stay clear of foreign entanglements, which were sure to lead to a state of perpetual war and preparation for war, and thus erode our American system. It happened that their historical analysis and their policy recommendations overlapped to an extent with those of the Nazis, who also thought the Treaty of Versailles was unjust, and who also wanted to see America stay out of the war. Because of this, the old non-interventionists were accused of "parroting the Goebbels line," and at a press conference once, Roosevelt gave one of them—John O'Donnell of the New York *Daily News*—an Iron Cross for meritorious service to the Reich. The conservative smear of Rothbard and other libertarians as "apologists for Stalin" is just as contemptible as the liberals' smear of the old isolationists.

A final aspect of van den Haag's attack deserves extended comment. It is an old conservative swindle, going back to Edmund Burke. It has been customary for conservatives to lay claim to our whole social inheritance of traditions, meanwhile asserting that libertarians—or classical liberals, or French *philosophes*—are aiming at the total destruction of all tradition. In that time-honored spirit, van den Haag states: "Libertarians are antinomians, i.e., opposed to law and traditional institutions ... Libertarianism is opposed to *all* conservative traditions, *to tradition itself*" (emphasis added).

Now, I must confess that when I read this, I was filled with astonishment. Can this really be true? Are we really such barbarians? After all, there are many different sorts of traditions; many of them obviously desirable. Can libertarians actually want to destroy *all* of them? Are libertarians looking forward, for instance, to the day when the tradition of cello-playing finally dies out? When literary critics no longer give a damn for the life of the English language? When friends no longer help each other out in trouble, or celebrate a marriage or the birth of a child? Are we all gleefully anticipating the moment when the last practitioner of French cuisine expires in bitterness and despair? (As far as that last one goes, I have to say, No way! I happen to know all of the top libertarians, and I've never met a group more sincerely appreciative of good food, and especially of French cuisine.) All of these represent traditions; and the cello-haters have yet to emerge as an important faction within the movement. So, when van den Haag says that we oppose "tradition itself," what can he mean?

It soon becomes clear what it is that troubles van den Haag, as it troubles other conservatives. Under libertarianism, he complains, "*Society* is denied the ability to *impose* or even *publicly cultivate* norms and bonds. *Only* individuals and private groupings can do so" (emphasis added). For conservatives, on the other hand, he says, "institutions form a social order, ultimately articulated and defended in essential respects by the state, through the monopoly of legitimate coercive power exercised by its government."

Well, as you can see—things are becoming a little clearer. It isn't after all "tradition itself" that van den Haag is defending against the Visigothic hordes of the libertarian movement. Nor does he really believe that we want to deny the right of non-governmental groups *publicly* to cultivate social norms—no libertarian would use force, for instance, to prevent Jehovah's Witnesses from renting Yankee Stadium. What worries van den Haag is that, with the growing influence of our movement, *coerced*, state-*enforced* traditions are now threatened and may not survive.

How far does van den Haag carry the state's right to enforce traditions? He doesn't tell us in the *National Review* article. There he's anxious to give the impression that he,

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William F. Buckley, Jr., founder and editor of *National Review*, and principal architect of the transformation of the Right during the early 1950s: his influence helped to make blind nationalism, military adventurism and moral Puritanism synonymous with the Conservative cause—and to give Conservatives their richly deserved reputation for racial bigotry and intolerance of cultural diversity.

UPI

like other conservatives, responsibly favors limited government, while libertarians are all irresponsible anarchists. But he's expressed his views on this question elsewhere. In the December 1, 1964 issue of *National Review,* he offered a pretentious rationalization for racial segregation in the public schools. That was at a time when he, and *National Review,* thought they could still get away with it.

Also in 1964, there took place the notorious "obscenity" trial of Lenny Bruce in New York City. Lenny Bruce was a night-club comedian, who based his routines on social criticism. He often attacked politicians and organized religion, especially the Catholic Church. In the course of these routines, which were performed in private clubs, he was in the habit of using dirty words. The police departments in various cities, including Chicago, vowed to get him, and they started arresting him. Lenny Bruce was a fragile man, and he broke under the pressure. Without any chance to work anymore, with enormous legal bills and other debts, he finally died of a drug overdose. The culmination of the persecution was the New York City trial.

Afterwards, one of the district attorneys involved, Vincent Cuccia, said of the trial: "We drove him into poverty and bankruptcy and then murdered him. I watched him fall apart... We all knew what we were doing. We used the law to kill him."

In that final trial, the defense brought many expert witnesses—distinguished literary critics and others—who testified to the value of Bruce's routines as social commentary, and just plain humor. The state's witnesses were not a very distinguished lot, as you can imagine. The most prominent of the state's expert witnesses against Lenny Bruce, there, among all the cops—I almost said, there among all the other cops—was Ernest van den Haag.

Finally, on November 21, 1976, the *New York Times* published a debate between van den Haag and Gay Talese, on the issue of pornography. In the course of vindicating "society's" right to censor whatever it considers pornographic, van den Haag stated: "Every community has a right to protect what it regards as its important shared values. In India, I would vote for the prohibition against slaughtering cows. In Israel, I would vote for the prohibition against raising pigs for slaughter. In the United States, where a certain amount of sexual reticence has been a central value of our traditional culture, I would vote for the rights of communities to protect their sexual reticence."

Now, there's an obvious question that occurs to anyone who understands the meaning of his words. It's this: Is there any limit to the extent to which the community may oppress the individual in the exercise of its "right to protect what it regards as its important shared values"? The purpose of the Spanish Inquisition was to defend Catholicism—surely an important shared value of Spanish society. Does van den Haag believe the Inquisition was justified? Suttee was a central part of Hindu culture, as clitoridectomy was of Kikuyu culture, as ritual killings were of Aztec culture, and as racial segregation was of the culture of the American South a few years ago. What van den Haag should answer is this: Does he defend these traditions? If he does *not,* then he has immediately violated the principle of community-right in some very obvious cases, and he has exposed himself as a mere babbler. If he *does* defend these institutions, then what decent person would want to have anything to do with such a pervert?

The fact is that van den Haag is the most fanatical society-worshipper among today's conservatives. By his own statement, he stands ready to endorse whatever traditional degradation of the individual a given society—except a Communist one—might view as necessary for the greater glory of its "shared values." In *National Review,* he complains that "libertarians are firmly committed to natural rights, which they find all over the place [where else would they be?]... [they] think they can solve a problem by prating about natural rights." Well, van den Haag certainly can't be accused of over-emphasizing natural rights. He doesn't believe in *any* rights—of individuals, that is. But while, according to him, *individuals* have no rights, societies oddly enought *do.* Which makes him all the more shameless a hypocrite when he cites, as a guiding principle of his own philosophy, Immanuel Kant's famous dictum: A person must never be treated only as a means, but always also as an end in himself. That is, indeed, a great expression of humanism, and I believe in it. But considering that van den Haag places no limit whatsoever on how "society" may use—indeed, immolate—the individual for its own higher ends, his citing of it is a much better example of "obscenity" than the ones he usually gives us.

Libertarians are not "against" tradition. But we make certain elementary distinctions. It is time conservatives like van den Haag began doing likewise—starting with the distinction between the traditions that mankind has *voluntarily* generated and preserved, and those stemming from coercion, violence, and force. And it is time they stopped talking as if all the good and great traditions that are our rightful inheritance were somehow to be credited to the state, and to themselves as the state's apologists, rather than to their true source—the women and men who, with what freedom they had, created, sifted, refined, and transmitted those traditions through the generations.

What else is missing from this conservative critique? Well, the usual things that conservatives never talk about. They attack us for favoring nuclear disarmament. But they never concede that mankind faces any kind of danger from the existence of incredibly deadly nuclear weapons. They aren't

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Ernest van den Haag, apologist for segregated schools, state's witness against Lenny Bruce, advocate of censorship—and intellectual hit man for those in the dying Conservative movement who see Libertarianism as an assault by Visigothic hordes on tradition of any kind. Van den Haag "stands ready to endorse whatever traditional degradation a given society—except a Communist one—might view as necessary for the greater glory of its 'shared values.'"

worried by the fact that each and every Trident-type submarine is capable of completely destroying any nation in the world.

They attack us for favoring the dismantling of the secret intelligence agencies, like the FBI and CIA. But they never acknowledge what everyone who reads the newspapers now knows—that for years these agencies were engaged in systematically breaking the law, in the FBI's COINTELPRO program, for instance, and in the CIA's programs of domestic spying. The conservatives continue to live in a world where the existence of nuclear weapons is something we can take in stride, and where FBI agents all resemble Jimmy Stewart. For them, the only thing wrong with the Indochina War was that we didn't have "the will to win." They resolutely refuse to acknowledge the existence of certain big facts about reality. It's no wonder that hardly anyone really takes them seriously.

It's an unfortunate fact that we Libertarians are still sometimes viewed by the press and the public as a "right-wing" party. The *Washington Post,* for instance, recently referred to us as an "extreme right-wing" organization. This is a pity, and it can do us nothing but harm. Among perceptive people, conservatives are known for their blind nationalism, their readiness to engage in military adventure throughout the world, their envious Puritanism. This is why I have said that one of our most pressing tasks is to draw the line between us and the conservatives, and to etch that line into the public's consciousness. One good way to do this would be to emphasize our principled concern for the people the conservatives habitually treat with neglect or with contempt: women, blacks and other racial minorities, gay people. The conservative movement is intellectually bankrupt and morally moribund. Any identification with it would be the kiss of death. ❑

Ralph Raico, senior editor of *Inquiry*, teaches history at SUNY, Buffalo.

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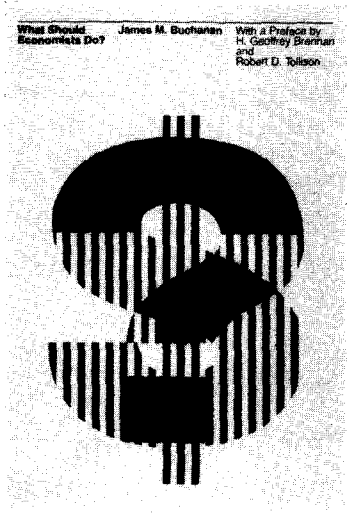

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BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Degeneration revisited

JEFF RIGGENBACH

The Culture of Narcissism, *by Christopher Lasch, Norton, 268 pp., $11.95; Warner, 447 pp., $2.75.*

IT WOULD SEEM fabulous if it were not in evidence all around us: it has been more than a year since the original publication of Christopher Lasch's celebrated *The Culture of Narcissism;* the hardcover edition has given way to the inevitable paperback; yet still the talk goes on. Steadily, unaccountably, the book goes on stirring up controversy and interest. Hardly a month goes by before one or another national periodical brings the question before us (or before some celebrity interviewee) once again: is Christopher Lasch right? Is our culture suffering, dying, from pathological narcissism? Is there hope? What lies ahead?

Like most such vogues, that of Lasch and his jeremiad on "American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations" tells us more about the reading public than about the feted author or work. Just as the little flurry of self-serving critical puffery which greeted the publication a few months ago of R. Emmet Tyrrell, Jr.'s *Public Nuisances* cast less light on either Tyrrell or his collected essays than on the extent to which H. L. Mencken (to whom Tyrrell was frequently and—without so much as a hint of irony — favorably compared, both as stylist and as ideologue) is no longer read; so the more enduring flurry which has set up around *The Culture of Narcissism* casts less light on either Christopher Lasch or his book than on the extent to which Max Nordau is no longer read.

Max Nordau (1849-1923) was a Jewish-Hungarian physician, author and Zionist. He grew up in Budapest, attended college and medical school there, and practiced medicine and journalism there for a few years, before moving on to Paris, where he devoted several years to postgraduate study in medicine, engaged in further periodical writing, and eventually resumed his medical practice.

It was during his Paris years (he spent most of his last years in a kind of self-imposed exile in Madrid) that he achieved international notoriety through his books. (He eventually became famous enough that in 1903 he was called upon to survive an assassination attempt spurred by his Zionist activities.) His first important books began appearing during the 1880s: *Conventional Lies of Our Civilization* in 1883, *Paradoxes* in 1885 and *The Sickness of the Century* in 1887. By 1892, when his magnum opus, *Degeneration,* was published, he had become well enough established that his books were routinely brought out in both French and English as well as in their original German.

Degeneration made an enormous splash. One might say that it was *The Culture of Narcissism* of its time. It was easily the most influential of the many extended essays in social and cultural criticism which were being published during the last years of the last century — and they were being published literally everywhere: in London, in New York, in Chicago, even in the Baptist-infested wilds of Waco, Texas, where William Cowper Brann was casting curses and imprecations on the age in a one-man newsletter he published and called (with no trace of irony) *The Iconoclast. Degeneration* even occasioned the first appearance in American print of George Bernard Shaw, who replied to it at length in an essay called "The Sanity of Art" in the July 27, 1895 issue of Benjamin R. Tucker's *Liberty.*

But *Degeneration* is famous no longer. In one of the few references to it in any contemporary piece of writing, Richard Gilman dismisses it out of hand as "a shabby, disreputable, but well-known 1898 tome," thus tacitly calling into question his own assertion of its great fame by not even getting its publication date right. In some ways, as we shall see, Nordau's oblivion is well deserved. Yet if he were more widely known among contemporary readers, those readers might not now be showering encomia upon such a book as Lasch's *The Culture of Narcissism* — a book which is remarkable chiefly for its highly unimaginative (if entirely unintended) echoing of *Degeneration.* Indeed, so obvious is this echoing to anyone familiar with Nordau's work that the failure of any of the dozens of journalists and critics and publicists who have discussed *The Culture of Narcissism* in the past year to even mention its striking similarity to the earlier book must, as I have said, be taken in itself as evidence of the extent to which Nordau has been forgotten. Consider the facts:

Nordau was a student of Cesare Lombroso, the Italian psychiatrist who "discovered" not only that anti-semitism was a mental illness, but also that criminals were genetic "degenerates" who could be identified by certain physical and mental "stigmata" of "atavism." Lasch is a student of Lombroso's frankly admiring contemporary, Sigmund Freud, the Viennese psychiatrist who "discovered" that, as Vladimir Nabokov has neatly summed it up, "all mental woes can be cured by a daily application of old Greek myths to [the] private parts."

Nordau announces at the beginning of *Degeneration* that "the disposition of the times is curiously confused, a compound of feverish restlessness and blunted discouragement, of fearful presage and hang-dog renunciation. The prevalent feeling is that of immenent perdition and extinction.

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Fin-de-siecle is at once a confession and a complaint. The old Northern faith contained the fearsome doctrine of the Dusk of the Gods. In our days there have arisen in more highly-developed minds vague qualms of a Dusk of the Nations, in which all suns and all stars are gradually waning, and mankind with all its institutions and creations is perishing in the midst of a dying world."

Lasch announces, at the beginning of *The Culture of Narcissism,* that "as the twentieth century approaches its end, the conviction grows that many other things are ending too. Storm warnings, portents, hints of catastrophe haunt our times. The 'sense of an ending' which has given shape to so much of twentieth-century literature, now pervades the popular imagination as well. ... The question of whether the world will end in fire or in ice, with a bang or a whimper, no longer interests artists alone. Impending disaster has become an everyday concern, so commonplace and familiar that nobody any longer gives much thought to how disaster might be diverted."

Nordau believes that it is a kind of sickness which has brought us to this pass. "The physician," he writes, "especially if he has devoted himself to the special study of nervous and mental maladies, recognizes at a glance, in the *fin-de-siecle* disposition, in the tendencies of contemporary art and poetry, in the life and conduct of the men who write mystic, symbolic and 'decadent' works, and the attitude taken by their admirers in the tastes and aesthetic instincts of fashionable society, the confluence of two well-defined conditions of disease, with which he is quite familiar, viz. degeneration (degeneracy) and hysteria, of which the minor stages are designated as neurasthenia."

Lasch too sees disease as the underlying source of our cultural malaise: "the character traits associated with pathological narcissism, which in less extreme form appear in such profusion in the everyday life of our age." "In the clinical literature," he writes, "narcissism has come to be recognized as an important element in the so-called character disorders that have absorbed much of the clinical attention once given to hysteria and obsessional neuroses."

Christopher Lasch (right), author of *The Culture of Narcissism* (1979), and Max Nordau, author of *Degeneration* (1892).

And both Nordau and Lasch argue that the sickness of an age manifests itself not only in the type of pathological personality which is most common during that age, but also in the normal, more or less healthy personality of the average man of that age. "The difference between disease and health is not one of kind, but of quantity," says Nordau. "Pathology represents a heightened version of normality," says Lasch. And "every society reproduces its culture—its norms, its underlying assumptions, its modes of organizing experience," whether these norms, assumptions and modes are healthy or not, "in the individual, in the form of personality. As Durkheim said, personality is the individual socialized."

What then is this *fin-de-siecle* personality—whether normal or pathological—all about? Mainly it is about selfishness, "a love of self," as Nordau puts it, "never met with in a sane person in anything like the same degree. The hysterical person's own 'I' towers up before his inner vision, and so completely fills his mental horizon that it conceals the whole of the remaining universe. He cannot endure that others should ignore him. He desires to be as important to his fellow men as he is to himself." And this ego-mania, as Nordau calls it, this narcissism, as Lasch calls it, is nowhere more on display than in the literature of the age. Lasch writes of "the increasing interpenetration of fiction, journalism, and autobiography," and the fact that "instead of fictionalizing personal material or otherwise reordering it," serious writers have "taken to presenting it undigested" and to including in their books "the kind of spurious confession whose only claim to the reader's attention is that it describes events of immediate interest to the author." As Lasch sees it, any author of such a confessional piece "seeks not to provide an objective account of a representative piece of reality but to seduce others into giving him their attention, acclaim, or sympathy and thus to shore up his faltering sense of self."

Nordau agrees entirely. "Formerly," he writes, "it was the custom to utilize ... excursions into all possible fields of discussion as articles for newspapers or monthly periodicals, and afterwards to collect them in book form. But experience has taught that the public does not exhibit much interest in these collections of essays." Accordingly, authors on the make—Huysmans is Nordau's central example—have concocted a new literary form: a novel which consists of nothing but "the description of a human being, with his intellectual life, and his monotonous, scarcely modulated external destinies." This form demands no skill as a plotwright or storyteller, but it "gives the author a pretext for expressing his own ideas on all possible subjects." Nordau complains that "M. Huysmans and his school" have transformed "the novel

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from an epic poem in prose into a hybrid mixture of the *Essays* of Montaigne, of [the] *Parerga at Paralipomena* of Schopenhauer, and the effusions in the diary of a girl at boarding school."

Not only is the narcissistic personality, the personality of the ego-maniac, fervently devoted to exhibitionism; it is elitist as well. The narcissist relies on others to make him the center of attention, but he despises them nevertheless. "The narcissist," says Lasch, "divides society into two groups: the rich, great and famous on the one hand and the common herd on the other. Narcissistic patients, according to Otto Kernberg, 'are afraid of not belonging to the company of the great, rich and powerful, and of belonging instead to the "mediocre," by which they mean worthless and despicable rather than "average" in the ordinary sense of the term.'" The degenerate, says Nordau, "is fain to despise the vulgar herd for the dullness and narrowness of their minds."

Both Nordau and Lasch deny that the narcissistic, exhibitionistic self-preoccupation they have described is in any sense the same thing as simple selfishness or egoism. "Egoism," Nordau writes, "is a lack of amiability, a defect in education, perhaps a fault of character, a proof of insufficiently developed morality, but it is not a disease. The egoist is quite able to look after himself in life, and hold his place in society.... The ego-maniac, on the contrary, is an invalid who does not see things as they are, does not understand the world, and cannot take up a right attitude towards it." In similar fashion, Lasch argues that "men have always been selfish," and asserts that "narcissism has more in common with self-hatred than with self-admiration," because it leads ineluctably to self-defeating or self-destructive behavior.

Both Nordau's egomaniac and Lasch's narcissist are archconsumers. "A stigma of degeneration," Nordau writes, is "oniomania" or buying craze. This is not to be confounded with the desire for buying, which possesses those who are in the first stage of general paralysis. The purchases of these persons are due to their delusion as to their own greatness. They lay in great supplies because they fancy themselves millionaires. The oniomaniac, on the contrary, neither buys enormous quantities of one and the same thing, nor is the price a matter of indifference to him as with the paralytic. He is simply unable to pass by any lumber without feeling an impulse to acquire it."

Similarly, Lasch writes of the narcissist: "Acquisitive in the sense that his cravings have no limits, he does not accumulate goods and provisions against the future, in the manner of the acquisitive individualist of nineteenth-century political economy, but demands immediate gratification and lives in a state of restless, perpetually unsatisfied desire."

It would be possible to go on like this for many more pages than I have already filled, but the point is made. Christopher Lasch's much touted, much praised *Culture of Narcissism* is little more than an updated rewrite of Max Nordau's discredited and forgotten *Degeneration*. The two books agree not only in their fundamental ideas, but even in small details of their arguments and in their illustrative examples. Nordau explains that the degenerate cultivates forbidden vices and becomes a seeker of thrills at any cost because his degeneration has brought with it a blunted sensitivity to stimuli of all kinds, and he needs intense experiences if he is to feel anything at all; Lasch describes the attempt of the narcissist to "cultivate more vivid experiences, ... beat sluggish flesh to life, ... revive jaded appetites." Nordau likens the egomaniac to "a mental Robinson Crusoe, who in his imagination lives alone on an island, and is at the same time a weak creature, powerless to govern himself." Lasch likens the nineteenth-century rugged individualist who saw the world "as an empty wilderness to be shaped to his own design" to Robinson Crusoe, and asserts that the twentieth-century narcissist more closely resembles Moll Flanders.

"Americans stay away from most elections for precisely the reason that they have nothing to do with the issues."

It is easy, of course, to dismiss Nordau entirely, merely by discrediting the ideas of Lombroso on which his analysis rests. Similarly it is easy to dismiss Lasch by discrediting the ideas of Freudism on which his analysis rests — by saying sweepingly as Sir Peter Medawar does that "psychoanalytic theory is the most stupendous intellectual confidence trick of the twentieth century." But this is not only too easy, it is also unnecessary. There are other grounds aplenty for dismissing *The Culture of Narcissism,* not the least of which are its internal incoherence and its outright factual errors.

One example will suffice to illustrate both problems. Americans, Lasch tells us near the beginning of his first chapter, are in "retreat from politics" and have turned their attention "to purely personal concerns. Having no hope of improving their lives in any of the ways that matter, people have convinced themselves that what matters is psychic self-improvement." Yet only a few pages earlier, in his Preface, he has written that "the 'flight from politics,' as it appears to the managerial and political elite, may signify the citizen's growing unwillingness to take part in the political system as a consumer of prefabricated spectacles. It may signify, in other words, not a retreat from politics at all but the beginnings of a general political revolt." And a little later, near the end of Chapter I, he faults fellow cultural critic Edwin Schur for "setting up an oversimplified opposition between 'real' issues and personal issues" and for ignoring "the fact that social questions inevitably present themselves also as personal ones." Which is it? One wonders. Are Americans in retreat from politics or brewing a revolution? Are they substituting a concern for the self for their old concern with the polity, or have they begun considering the personal dimension of their old social concerns?

One of the problems we face in trying to answer these questions and figure out what Lasch is trying to say is that the available data simply don't support the hypothesis, no matter how often we hear it repeated these days, of a "retreat from politics." It is true, of course, that voter turnout in major elections has reached a series of all time lows in the past decade and a half, but it is surely a mistake to infer from this a general lack of concern for political issues. On the contrary: the evidence suggests that the

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American people are *increasingly* concerned with political issues, and tend to stay away from most elections *for precisely the reason that they have nothing to do with issues*—they are merely empty exercises designed to preserve the appearance of republican methods of government, when in fact the candidates are indistinguishable and the outcome of the election a foregone conclusion, whoever may emerge the victor.

There is certainly ample evidence that growing numbers of voters are perceiving elections in just this way. "The electorate is skeptical," writes U.C. Berkeley political science professor Jacob Citrin, "if not wholly contemptuous, of government's ability to solve the nation's problems." He cites figures from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research showing that nearly 75 percent of the electorate now believe that "the government wastes a lot of tax money"; 60 percent believe "the government in Washington can be trusted to do what is right only some of the time"; 50 percent believe "public officials don't care much what people think"; and 45 percent believe "the people running the government don't know what they are doing."

And these attitudes are, of course, turning up at the polls. CBS news reported on January 14, 1979 that slightly less than 50 percent of those eligible to vote in the November 1978 elections had bothered to do so. According to a Census Bureau spokesman, these non-voters could not properly be described as apathetic; rather, he said, they were politically alienated — increasingly uncertain that voting changed anything or could change anything, that elections were anything more than a fraud or a charade. Moreover, the Census Bureau told CBS, it was likely that even more Americans are staying away from the polls than the figures would seem to suggest, since it's widely known that many people lie when asked if they voted in the last election.

Confirmation of this speculation came early in February of 1979, when the British magazine *The Economist* released its privately conducted survey of participation in the November 1978 elections. *The Economist* found that only 37 percent of the electorate had bothered to vote.

Were the non-voters in the 1978 election uninterested in politics — or in candidates and politicians? It is surely significant that in California two years ago, two ballot initiatives or referendums, the famous Proposition 13, which passed overwhelming, and the Briggs Initiative, which would have forcibly removed homosexual teachers from the public schools, and which failed overwhelmingly, both drew vastly more voters to the polls than the elective races on the same 1978 ballots. It is also significant that the circulation of political magazines is now at an all time high, with *Mother Jones,* a slickpaper monthly aimed at the younger generation, the generation of the '60s, leading the field—not to mention the new prevalence of informed political analysis and commentary, by such as Robert Sherrill, Nicholas von Hoffman, William O. Douglas, and Karl Hess, in the pages of mass-circulation men's magazines like *Playboy* and *Penthouse.*

Sigmund Freud (right), mentor to Christopher Lasch, and Cesare Lombroso, contemporary of Freud and mentor to Max Nordau.

And who can look out over the Woodstock-like seas of young and middle-aged faces, hundreds of thousands of them, at anti-nuclear rallies all over the country in the past few years and say that Americans are in retreat from politics? Who can recall the hundreds of simultaneous rallies on college campuses from coast to coast on May 1, 1979, some of them attended by more than a thousand students, which put a premature halt to the Carter administration's plans for a new draft, and say that Americans are becoming indifferent to social issues?

Christopher Lasch can—and does, for nearly 300 pages of mostly capable enough prose which he has systematically defaced here and there with great blots of Freudian gobbledygook. And what can one say in the face of such a feat of blindness, except, again, that it reflects more badly on the reading public than on Lasch himself? Lasch is alone responsible for his ignorance, to be sure, and for the sloppiness with which he allowed contradictions to stand when he edited and strung together into a book what had originally been a series of more or less discrete magazine articles, and for the intellectual credulity which has led him to view the world deliberately through Freudian spectacles. But, willy nilly, readers are like citizens. As the latter tend to have the sort of government they deserve, so the former tend to have the sorts of books they deserve. If they fail to educate themselves, they will fail to recognize charlatanry and con-artistry when it is offered them under the name of the higher criticism. And their quest to understand the culture in which they live will suffer accordingly. For the buyers of books as for the buyers of all else, the old admonition says it all: let the buyer beware.

Jeff Riggenbach is Executive Editor of *LR*.

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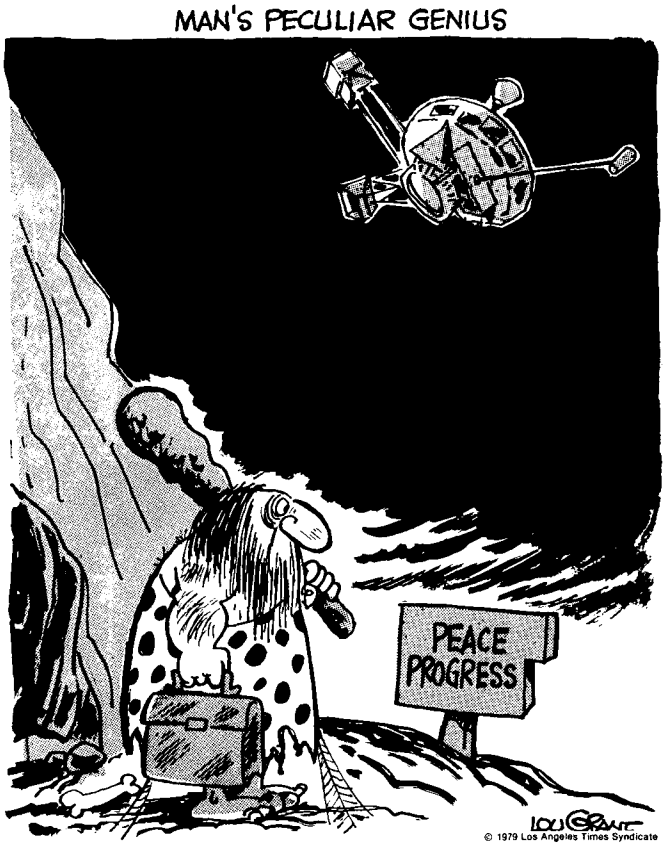

Rights from the standpoint of hell

DANNY SHAPIRO

Just and Unjust Wars, *by Michael Walzer. Basic Books, 361 pp., $15; 5.95.*

FOR PEOPLE WHO ARE concerned with individual rights and justice, libertarians have paid little attention to the moral complexities of warfare. In a way this is understandable: most wars involve massive violations of individual rights, and who wants to spend their time mucking around in such a realm, making distinctions and evaluations concerning degrees of evil? Furthermore, libertarian theorists are more comfortable in the realm of ideal political theory, i.e., those principles which specify how people's rights will be protected in a genuinely free society. But the neglect of critical thinking about warfare is not justified. First, there *is* a point to judgments about degrees of evil: if rights are routinely violated in war, then we should endeavor to avoid as much rights violations as possible. Second, attention to warfare can sharpen one's theory of rights: to try to work out a consistent, coherent, theory of rights in this difficult area can only deepen one's understanding and make one's theory more plausible. Third, war, unfortunately, is very close to the norm: to trace the history of violent inter and intra state conflicts is almost to trace the history of the world. To direct one's moral/political vision away from war is to neglect to apply one's critical faculties to the real world.

Fortunately we don't have to begin ex nihilo in order to make judgments about warfare, for there is a whole tradition of just war theory going back to ancient times. The theory has two parts: justice *of* war (jus ad bellum) — those principles which evaluate the reasons states go to war—and justice *in* war (jus in bello)—those principles which are concerned with *how* wars are fought. This theory should be of interest to libertarians because it (more or less) takes individual rights seriously. Michael Walzer, a professor of government at Harvard, has written a book which follows in this tradition: the book proceeds on the assumption that there are (close to) absolute rights to life and liberty, and accordingly Walzer radically downplays considerations of utility.

The postulation of individual rights holds him in good stead when discussing jus in bello. Walzer does a good job of showing that the traditional rules against the intentional killing of non-combatants — "traditional" may not be the right word since they have been often violated in the twentieth century—are rooted in individual rights, and that rules which constrain the conduct of war should be in effect *no matter what* the justness of one's cause. The latter is part of what I shall dub the separation thesis: namely that judgments about jus in bello and jus ad bellum are logically independent. Surely Walzer is correct that judgments about the just way to fight a war are independent of the justness of one's cause: for to take individual rights seriously means that they cannot be overridden or disregarded for the sake of good consequences — in this case the good consequences of helping the just side to win or helping to prevent the unjust side from winning. Thus Walzer argues against proposals all of which come down to the claim that in the name of "military necessity" or a righteous cause the prohibitions of jus in bello can be partially or totally overcome. Such claims have been made, with varying degrees of specificity, by such people as the English utilitarian Henry Sidwick, Winston Churchill, and the Truman administration. Walzer also uses the standard of individual rights to attack those traditional rules of war which *do not* respect those rights: e.g., the obscene idea that it is permissible to lay siege to a city and try to starve it to death, and the claim that reprisals against innocent people are justified on the grounds that one is merely engaged in legitimate "punishment." Walzer's arguments here are carefully set out and generally libertarian, but lack of space prevents any detailed discussion of them here.

It is all well and good to assert that specious claims of "military necessity" and the like cannot push aside individual rights, but what if violations of individual rights *really was necessary* — not for promoting a victory or a just cause, but to avoid some horrible catastrophe? There is an old expression: do justice even if the heavens fall. But is this right? To speak of individual rights with regard to warfare is in a way to talk about rights with hell in the background: wars, even those that may be justified, are terrible human tragedies and the point of insisting on justice *in* warfare is to limit the tragedy as much as possible. But suppose rather than hell being in the background, we are *in it*, so to speak: an enemy committed to world wide genocidal destruction is on the loose and the only way to stop him from imminent victory is to violate (some of) the individual rights of his subjugated people. Walzer, in light of this, amends the old slogan to: do justice *unless* the heavens are *(really)* about to fall. This seems correct *in form: if* such a situation as the one just described existed, individual rights could be overridden to prevent a catastrophe. Whether it is right *in fact,* that is, whether this argument could be applied to a real war is a different mat-

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ter: Walzer's book is subtitled "A Moral Argument with *Historical* Illustrations" and I am not competent to judge the latter. Whether one agrees with Walzer in his justification for the terror bombing of Germany during World War II, for example, depends on a host of presuppositions about the war itself, none of which, in Walzer's case, are beyond questioning.

Walzer's account of justice in war is largely on the right track; his account of justice *of* war is, however, another matter. For rather than using the standard of individual rights, Walzer's discussion of jus ad bellum revolves around mythical rights of *states*—namely territorial integrity and political sovereignty. Territorial integrity refers to the fact that states generally protect a certain land area where individuals share a common life and values; the state, says Walzer, protects a common territory rather than a mere aggregation of individual claims within the state boundaries. Political sovereignty refers roughly to the protection that states give to their members' lives and liberties, and to the abilities of citizens to choose and influence their form of government. But even if we agree that something like political sovereignty and territorial integrity are important values, why in the world can these be considered *rights,* and rights of *states,* no less? Walzer claims that these rights of states "derive ultimately from the rights of individuals" (p. 53), but if so, where do the former come from? Walzer mentions a process of "collectivization" of rights, but rights aren't the sorts of things that can be added up into an aggregate, creating a new right!

Perhaps Walzer's socialism—he is an editor of *Dissent*—makes him blind to the fact that rights are always the rights of individuals; perhaps his attempt to write a book of "practical morality" divorced from any foundation steered him wrong. But whatever the reason, Walzer's account of justice *of* war is seriously flawed. A just war for Walzer is one which is undertaken to defend political sovereignty and territorial integrity — assuming peaceful means have been tried and found wanting. This of course justifies a defensive war against an aggressor but it also justifies some *interventions,* since some states do not uphold political sovereignty and territorial integrity in the slightest. Interventions which aim to uphold or restore such "rights" are therefore just wars for Walzer: specifically, he thinks *some* cases of forceful border crossings when the intention is to aid a national liberation or secessionist movement, or to counterbalance a previous intervention by a different state, or to rescue people from genocide or enslavement, are permissible. But since there aren't any collective "rights" to political sovereignty or territorial integrity these wars will *only* be just—if Walzer is to be consistent within his rights oriented theory — if their aim or intention is to uphold *individual rights.* Is the aim or intention of the interventions which Walzer applauds to uphold individual rights? One may well doubt it, if included in such an aim or intention is the consideration that the *very act* of starting a war may violate individual rights. Suppose the war requires a draft? Suppose the war requires, as many do, massive taxation, inflation, stifling of dissent, and restriction of civil liberties? Suppose the type of weapons required for the war will be unable to be used in a way that will avoid killing civilians? Walzer either doesn't discuss this issue—outside of the draft, which he opposes, there is no mention of the ravages war can cause domestically — or tends to place them in the category of justice *in* war, since they concern how the war is conducted. But this seems ad hoc: heads of state know, or can be expected to know, that certain wars will require rights violations practically from the very beginning (e.g., an unpopular war requires a draft).

None of these criticisms are meant to detract from the value of *Just and Unjust Wars,* which is well worth reading for a number of reasons, besides the theoretical and practical importance of subjecting warfare to philosophical analysis. The arguments are cogent, even where they fall short they are illuminating and interesting, Walzer is willing to address difficult and complicated issues, and the book is superbly written. To make philosophy interesting is itself commendable; to write sensitively about warfare—where the temptation to sermonize or write detachedly must be strong—is a remarkable feat. Here is Walzer at his best:

> War kills; that is all it does; even its economic causes are not reflected in its outcome; and the soldiers who die are, in the contemporary phrase, wasted ... When soldiers die in small numbers, in encompassable battles, they can attribute some meaning to their deaths. Sacrifice and heroism are conceivable notions. But the slaughter of modern warfare overwhelms their capacity for moral understanding; cynicism is their last resort ... But it is not our last resort ... In an age when human sensibility is finely tuned to all nuances of despair, it still seems important to say of those who die in war that *they did not die in vain.* And when we can't say that, or think that we can't, we mix our mourning with anger. We search for guilty men. We are still committed to a moral world.

Passages like this—which have a kind of haunting loveliness about them—reflect the general tone of *Just and Unjust Wars.* They indicate, so it seems to me, a person who faces agonizing moral questions in the best way possible: aware of the difficulties, aware of the sheer overpowering horror of it all, yet unafraid to pronounce judgment and to stick to one's principles. Walzer is clearly a man with a passion for justice: it's a shame he isn't a libertarian, and it's a shame that not all libertarians share his passion.

Danny Shapiro is completing his Ph.D. in philosophy at the University of Minnesota.

Just war: a select bibliography

WILLIAMSON M. EVERS

Noam Chomsky, "An Exception to the Rules," *Inquiry,* vol. 1, no. 11, (April 17, 1978). A review of Michael Walzer's *Just and Unjust Wars* concentrating on the exceptions that Walzer makes for the Israeli government.

_____, "The Rule of Force in International Affairs," in *For Reasons of State* (New York: Random House, 1973). a review of Telford Taylor's *Nuremberg and Vietnam.*

Lewis Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959). Discussion of the dispute among sixteenth-century Spanish philosophers over whether the Indians were inferior and whether war against them was justified. One of Hanke's many excellent books on the subject.

James Turner Johnson, *Ideology, Reason and the Limitation of War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975). History of

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the development of just war doctrine from 1200 to 1740.

H.D. Lewis, "The Non-Moral Notion of Collective Responsibility," in Peter A. French, ed., *Individual and Collective Responsibility* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, 1972). Excellent criticism of the notion that society in general rather than individuals can be held morally responsible.

Richard A. Wasserstrom, ed., *War and Morality* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1970). An anthology of twentieth century philosophical writings on war, the most useful of which is John C. Ford's on obliteration bombing.

Williamson M. Evers is Editor of *Inquiry* magazine.

Spaced out

DAVID BRUDNOY

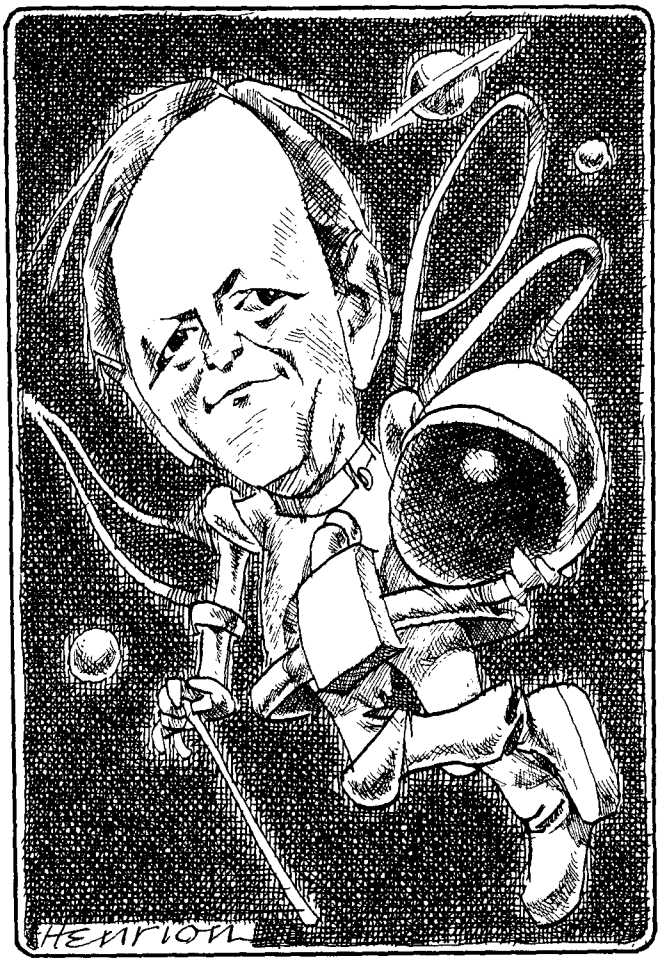
The Right Stuff, by Tom Wolfe. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 436 pp., $12.95.

WHEN JOHN GLENN decided to run for the Senate in Ohio, he had to contend with a populace that recognized him but wondered which one he was. Eventually he won, but the man who at one time was quite possibly the best-known and most admired American next to the President (John Kennedy) himself, found himself in a bored and jaded United States somewhat passé. Sic transit gloria mundi, and all that, and as Andy Warhol once predicted, tongue only partly in cheek, one day, and that rather soon, every American will be a celebrity for fifteen minutes, after which—oblivion.

Tom Wolfe's long awaited book about the early astronauts has arrived, and it's a corker. *The Right Stuff* might surprise readers who expect that everything Wolfe touches turns instantly into satire, or parody, that this gift of the gods to lovers of good writing is the master only of the jaundiced look. If Tom Wolfe doesn't genuinely admire and respect these giants of space, you'll have a hard time proving it from this book. Whether he'll bring himself to pull together the masses of material he's assembled on the later space adventures, and produce a sequel, is iffy; he indicated a kind of dread contemplating the project, having found this book the hardest of all his ventures to write. We may have only—only!—*The Right Stuff.*

What *is* "the right stuff"? Wolfe says that he realized fairly early that the men who made it, who make it, as astronauts have "it," that indefinable something that for want of any other name he came to call the right stuff: the combination of attitudes and abilities and ambitions that separate them from those who ascend only partly way up the "pyramid of the True Brothers." Of course every skilled profession has its "it"; no surprise about that. But the "it" of these men stands quite far from the comforting media image we have of these men as apple-pie-motherhood-country-God clones. Oh, divorce was fatal to an astronaut's career, back then, and membership in one of a handful of acceptable ... Protestant churches, or perceived affection, at least, for some nice denomination, went with the territory. In fact, many of the early astronauts and many of the current crop do fit the image we have of them. But not all, and their wives hardly manifest the long-suffering little hausfrau vignette that *Life* and other major media outlets painted for us, back then.

Stoic to outsiders but oftentimes quite vigorously demanding and emotional within the fraternity, the astronauts may have come from the same general background — small-town America—but they were not and are not carbon copies of some Ur-astronaut of popular mythology. Wolfe is not at pains to debunk these men, but rather to flesh them out, to help the reader reach into the astronauts' minds and comprehend something of their natures. Tom Wolfe can't resist the urge to poke a little well-pointed fun at the composite portrait, showing us the living fellows whom America tended to freeze within it. But in so doing he doesn't puncture our respect for them, he allows them their individual humanity, he enriches our comprehension of them and brings them back to us with more significance than, as idols, they had before.



Tom Wolfe

Contrary to one widely believed notion, fame didn't destroy these men. Only one of the nearly 100 astronauts, to date, has suffered from a serious problem with alcohol, and the divorce rate is no higher among the astronauts than among others of their age in America. Nor has Potomac fever spread widely among them, however successful half a handful have been in translating their popularity as folk-heroes of NASA into votes.

The Right Stuff is a beautiful book about flesh-and-blood men who have what it takes to succeed in a demanding, grueling but also glamorous job. And it is as well a book about the country in which they grew and succeeded. It might puzzle some Wolfe readers who come expecting another *Radical Chic.* But it is in its own way as worthy a book as that modern classic, and it deserves equal fortune.

David Brudnoy is a contributing editor of *LR.*

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On View

Innocence abroad

DAVID BRUDNOY

PARAMOUNT

David Marshall, Blanche Baker, and Miles Chapin as American innocents soon to be corrupted, in *French Postcards*, "a slight, almost totally pleasing minor film."

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN enjoyed a long season in vogue among the sophisticates of Paris; the good Quaker, they called him, the plain, simple colonial in homespun, sagely ladling out aphorisms seemingly newly sprung to mind, all this while he merrily slept his way through half the better boudoirs in town. Americans have more recently taken on a somewhat less charming image, when abroad: despoilers of the land, in the worst cases, or at least vulgarians on the lam, the "ugly Americans," a term understandably twisted out of a book of the same name whose title referred to the good guy, not the clods. But for the longest time, through the self-congratulatory literature churned out by puritans of every age on returning home from wicked Europe, on to the cinema until very recently, the standard vignette has been Purity (America) corrupted or at least contaminated by decadence (Europe). It helps to be an American when suffering those soothing delusions. It also helps to be naïve.

Which, after all, is what the innocents abroad fantasy is all about: we Yankees in whoever's court are God's very own children, and ain't it a shame that the Old World is over the hill! You can still amaze your neighbors on Main Street by pulling out some piece from *Time* reporting that within receiving distance of the Vatican one may tune into television programs featuring not only total nudity but actual acts of s*x**l *nt*rc**rs*. And there are, it is reported, parents still parenting who, upon dispatching their prides and joys to Europe for the first time, dispense a familiar wisdom boiling down to a categorical: *don't*. Our youth, abroad, are the model of innocence, abroad.

We come now to four recent films playing around the edges and in one case going right to the heart of that particular idea. They are thoroughly modern movies in technique, but quite wonderfully antiquated in orientation. It is as if America, land of the triple-X-rated sex shoppe, hadn't yet been invented.

French Postcards is the quaintest of this lot, a mild, well-mannered little comedy about young Americans, collegians, enrolled for a year in a private academy in Paris, sent there by mom and dad to learn the language and absorb the culture and maybe even prepare themselves better for life in our shrinking world. The story concentrates on two young men, Joel (Miles Chapin) and Alex (David Marshall Grant), and one young woman, Laura (Blanche Baker), and on their bedtime frolics and emotional churning. The boys have come to Paris for differing reasons, Joel to muddle through French and bury himself in work, Alex to sleep around and Experience New Adventures; Laura is determined to visit every one of the several hundred distinguished locales touted in the Guide Michelin, to strew flowers upon the toniest graves in the better cemeteries, and to energize her ancestral juices by devoted attendance at some, if not all, of the better medieval pageants. Their plans are quickly jostled about by happenstance and the designs of others, whence comes the fun and the charm of a slight, almost totally pleasing minor film.

For Alex there looms the forbidden fruit of the older woman, Mme. Tessier (Marie-France Pisier), doyenne of the school, whose husband, M. Tessier (Jean Rochefort), finds his pleasures with another lady. The school mistress first spurns Alex's leering attentions, then seeks her revenge on the monsieur by inviting Alex home, and not for coaching in his verb endings. The boy is the very perfect image of a surfer: blond, clean-cut, an Ultra-bright ad in corduroy britches; the lady, a paradigm of what ails the Old World, or what Americans like to think ails the Old World: an unyielding itch for hot young American flesh. Alex's adventures in wonderland provide the semi-erotic aspects of a film otherwise lacking them. Joel is a puppydog, or at least Miles Chapin is a passable facsimile thereof, and *his* affair is far more standard: Toni (Valérie Quennessen) sells him student supplies, resentfully, and only because of a practical joke played upon the two by To-

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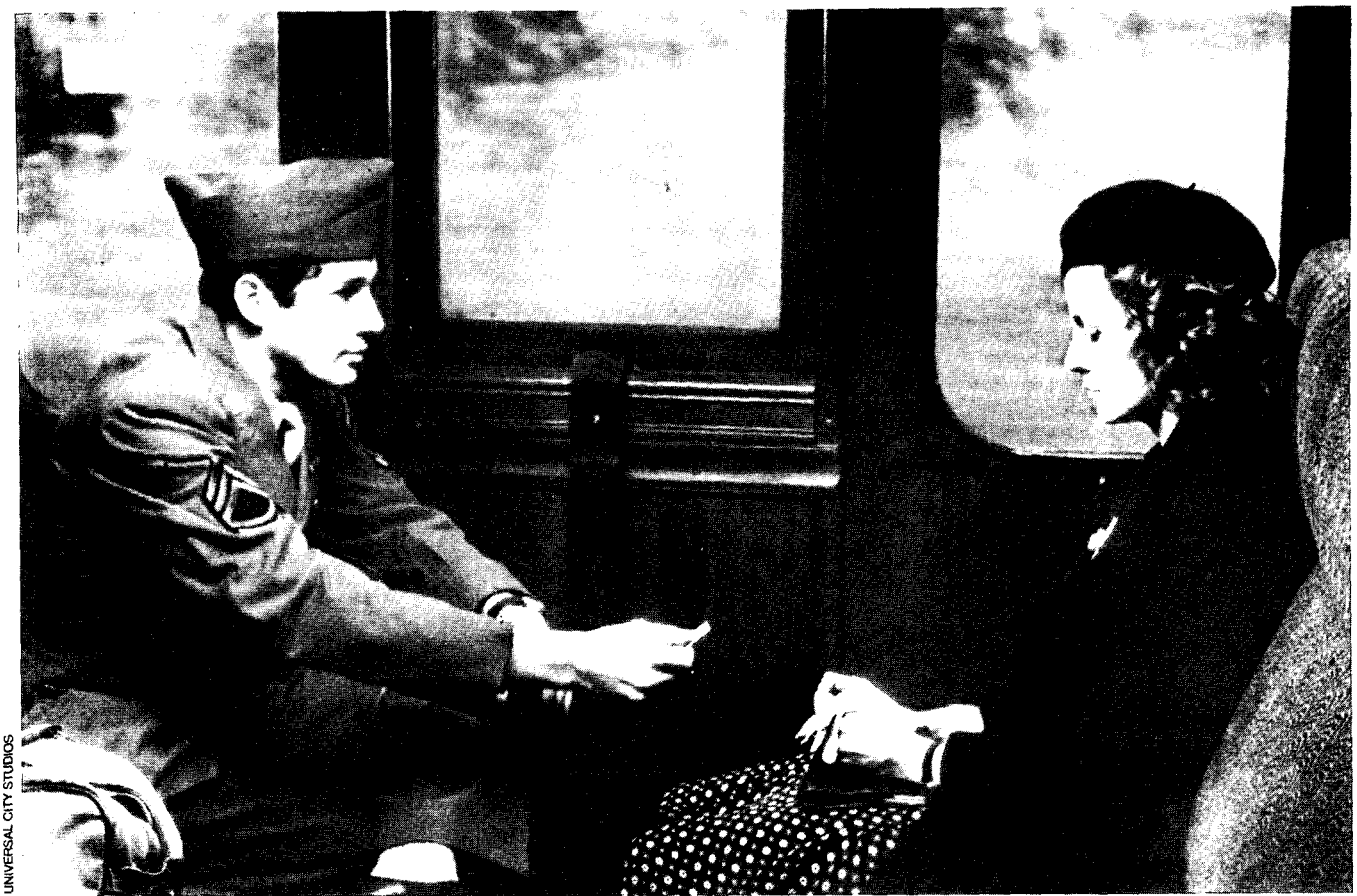

UNIVERSAL CITY STUDIOS

Matt (Richard Gere), an American G.I., and Jean (Lisa Eichhorn) a British girl, return home after an unhappy weekend, in John Schlesinger's World War II romance, *Yanks,* "a synecdoche of countless familiar stories about the stranger in a strange land."

ni's friends does Joel find himself between the sheets with a girl instead of forever poring over weighty treatises at his desk. Little need be said of Joel and Toni except that their romance goes entirely by the (contemporary) book: she seduces him, he likes it, they romp into the sunset. And Laura? She falls prey to a post-Ayatollah Iranian living in lecherous comfort in France, and flees from that into the arms of Alex, who, having dwelled in darkness, has seen a great light, and abandoned his older woman.

Mlle. Pisier and M. Rochefort work happily at the task of coping with English and add for Europeans (who see the movie and, no doubt, dissolve into complete hysterics in the aisles) familiar names, familiar faces, tried and true talents of the French cinema. The young actors are new to the profession and somewhat raw at transforming their native goods (pleasing looks and squeezable bodies) into something resembling acting. They are all promising, little more at present, but ideal for *French Postcards,* which, while you wouldn't necessarily recommend it to Aunt Edna in Des Moines, you might confidently pencil in for some otherwise dreary Saturday night. The burden of its message is that innocence abroad can be trained but never wholly ruined.

Yanks is John Schlesinger's elegant tear-jerker, lovely, finely acted, continuously graced by knowing, apt touches, and so static that it could as well be sold, frame by frame, to collectors of World War II nostalgia items. This is the story of American soldiers in England prior to the invasion of Normandy, neatly divided by class, each Yank with a British lass, the tales intertwining now and again, at other times branching off into separate compartments, the whole tidily wrapped up when the bunch of them go off to the continent to liberate the good guys from the Hun. Vanessa Redgrave, who must one day be unleashed to play a Queen, plays here the proper wife of a fine man, the mother of a fragile son, and the mistress of an American officer (William Devane). She sews things for the soldiers and wraps bandages with the other village ladies, she lends her name to the right charities and delicately balances her wifely responsibilities and those required of an American soldier's English lady friend. Richard Gere, whose career is taking off with the surety and speed that he demonstrated as the jock-strap zany in *Looking for Mr. Goodbar,* is the lower-middle-class American, the company cook; Lisa Eichhorn, an American in real life, and, like Gere, suddenly a hot property in films, plays his lower-middle-class English girl friend, properly resistant to his polite advances at first, later the somewhat more aggressive partner in their getting down to business, an occasion, by the way, that takes nearly as long to come to its point as any audience could be expected to endure. And there is Danny (Chick Vennera), whose tongue tends to lap about his navel when he spots a broad—he talks like that—and his broad, Mollie (Wendy Morgan); *they* are of the proletariat, and they take about three minutes to meet, fall in love, marry, and set about perpetuating the race.

These Americans in 1943 are not, of course, portrayed as gentlemen virgins off on a spree, entrapped from here to eternity; they are red-blooded models for their socio-economic strata, the sort of fine Yankees who gallantly went off to serve the cause of decency, and can you blame them if, lonely and lost in a sea of fish-and-chips-devouring limeys, they need a little

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lovin'? *Yanks* is so wholly satisfactory to look at that it seems churlish to complain about the difficulty of paying attention to it when its characters insist on speaking. Gentility pervades it, passion seems intrusive within it, energy appears utterly foreign to it, so reined in are its characters, so soothing is its tone. *Yanks* is a triumphant evocation of gesture, so well-meaning it cries out to be loved. It is splendidly acted, by men and women triumphing over lines that only John Schlesinger could love. And it is a synecdoche of countless familiar stories about the stranger in a strange land, finding his pleasures in the natural way, tempered only by local custom. As such it shrewdly embodies and agilely tailors the myth of innocence on foreign soil, touched though not despoiled by the foreigners. Overfed, over-sexed, and over here: it's all there, from the tritest British slogan coined during that peaceful occupation, to the most cherished memories of those who did the occupying and then, with or without a European bride, came home to construct their personal versions of How I Won The War.

Henry James, we have been instructed recently, never quite got over his adoration for his brother, William. Was it more than brotherly love? You'll never *prove* it by reference to his letters or to his books, but the implication inches its way up to the surface, as if in a permanent haze managing if only in outline to suggest itself somewhere in the background of much that he wrote and much that, evidently, he regretted. Not only did James transpose himself into the European context; he also came back repeatedly to the theme of the cultural disharmonies, the cultural jarrings — "clashes" would overstate the case — the cultural catalysts. *The Ambassadors* brings a paragon of middle-class New England rectitude to Europe to rescue a probably lost son of America from the clutches of Old World vice; *Daisy Miller* portrays a frisky American lass discombobulating the leaden ogresses and enchanting the scintillating bon vivants of Europe. And *The Europeans,* James's third novel (1878), piled all the baggage onto an American platform and flipped the whole saga of innocence abroad onto its back. *The Europeans* brought a near-penniless Baroness Münster and her bohemian brother, Felix, to the outskirts of Boston to look up, and, they hoped, hook up with, their wealthy, deadly-dull New England cousins.

James Ivory has directed and Ruth Prawer Jhabvala has written the screenplay for a resolutely stodgy yet somehow remarkably statisfying film version of this early James novel, considered by many, among those who can stay awake reading James, as one of his very best works, far less maddeningly convoluted in its prose than the heavier items that he inflicted upon readers later, far more straightforward in its theme, undeniably thought-provoking in its implications. If the film looks at times as if its real stars were all the autumn leaves of New England and a handful of houses done up for a Famous House tour, still it does little disservice to the tone of the book; and in its most adept moments it is a showcase for an Idea—the idea we've been discussing — brought to the screen exactly, precisely.

The Wentworths of the Boston outskirts manifest every imaginable perfection, of their type. The patriarch (Wesley Addy) gives off the aroma of faintly pickled rectitude, an Ionic column in a temple of his own making; his son, Clifford (Tim Choate), is scrubbed and tidy and prickly with late adolescent heat, which he cools in tankards of ale, since A Woman is as yet beyond his capacity; the daughters are immaculately conceived Charlotte (Nancy New) and the less handsome but no less pristine, albeit considerably less self-satisfied Gertrude (Lisa Eichhorn, again). The Unitarian minister might as well be the mirror image of Hester Prynne's undoer, so comely but righteous is he, and so hopelessly in love with Gertrude, who of course falls instead for cousin Felix (Tim Woodward), who paints and poses and charms her like a cobra romancing a mongoose. Neighbor Robert Acton (Robin Ellis) sees possibilities in the hard-strapped Baroness Münster, and since the lady is in search of a rich husband, she notices more than a few possibilities in him.

Lee Remick pours into her Baroness Münster all the subtleties of her acting range; if one hadn't seen her nearly cornering the market on cinematic hysteria in a half-dozen meaty, proto-late-Bette Davis parts, one wouldn't recognize her or at least wouldn't quite place her, in her mid-century frocks, weaving her worldly continental net to catch Mr. Acton. Remick's is a performance in the best tradition of inward fire held firmly in check by surface ice: it is among the handful of smoothest performances by an actress in the films of 1979, wrapping up in a faultless package a great deal of Henry James's not so idiosyncratic notions about the strange effects a more sophisticated culture can have upon one less so. Would that the movie advanced the Idea just a bit further. Mr. Wentworth is described by Felix as a man who looks "as if he were undergoing martyrdom, not by fire but by freezing," and the picture of the man becomes the picture itself. Glacial pacing is not out of step with Henry James's tempo, but movies, by definition, *move,* and this one is more or less paraplegic.

And yet, how deliciously it sums up the concept. Granted, the innocents here are at home, not abroad, but even if the corrupters—and a less sordid set of invading siblings could scarcely be conceived—have set out for the sticks to work their act, still the expectable relationship has been maintained: where the Baroness and brother Felix park, there is the locus of the tender trap; where the impeccably fine Wentworths then step, that, for them, becomes their "Europe," if not, necessarily, their undoing. *The Europeans* ends with half the visiting duo packing up to leave, one of them hitched to an American "catch," the other going back to Europe to be "appreciated" properly. How is it that *The Europeans* has only now, so long since its appearance as a book, been transported to the screen? Maybe the theme, however grandly swaddled in the finery of James's prose, touches just a bit too sharply that happiest of American delusions: that *we* can only be badly affected by *them,* over *there,* since if *they* come *here* we'll clean 'em up overnight.

Now how may Bernardo Bertolucci shock us this time? He has given Pauline Kael a decade to recover from her ecstatic reaction to *Last Tango in Paris;* he has allowed us the same interval to forget the awful sight of Marlon Brando's rump in the buff. He has in *Luna* come back to hand us a dose of mother-son incest and he hopes we'll like it. America *hasn't* liked the idea very much, not us, not in the land where demagogues can get extra mileage out of their crusades to save our children from unspeakable perverts who lurk in classroom closets ready to leap out and devour the darlings. Little

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Lee Remick (far right) whose portrayal, in *The Europeans,* of "inward fire held in check by surface ice, is one of the smoothest performances by an actress in 1979."

matter that the bulk of what we call child molesting is inflicted upon children by their parents and their parents' spouses and their parents' best friends and their parents' brothers. And so in Massachusetts last year an adult brother and sister, who were separated at an early age, met later, when they were grown up, and chose to marry, ran afoul of the law, which gave them about thirty minutes to repent, unmarry, and promise never to connubialize again. We are more than a bit unnerved by incest, and always on the alert to clamp down hard on the one instance in a million where it is entirely consensual and between adults, while just as ready to pretend that the infinitely more common kinds, daddies preying upon their offspring, and kindred variations on the theme, do not, in fact, exist. America, land of the free and home of the hypocrite.

So Bertolucci knew where he could touch a nerve and stretch it raw. And while he caused the sensation he sought, and brought *Luna* into disrepute everywhere and curious audiences into it in droves, he kindly granted us timid Yankees two considerate pegs on which to hang a mental disclaimer: he never quite allowed Caterina (Jill Clayburgh) to make it with her son Joe (Matthew Barry) — she masturbates him through his trousers and she forces his head, later, down almost to her panty-clad crotch — and he put the whole wretched thing over there, in Europe. The kid is all-American, if, in the guise of Master Barry (who plays a fifteen-year-old, is seventeen in real life, and looks nine), a trifle androgynous — he is all-American in the States, before the man he thinks is his daddy dies, and before his mom schleps him along to Italy for her operatic concert season. But once he hits the streets of Rome, watch out!

Overnight the boy goes from frolicking with the local lasses to throwing tantrums and shooting heroin into his sweet little veins and picking up but only toying with an older man who buys him the proverbial sugary drink — it's all quite by the book of how Dirty Old Men are expected to behave. And when your typical American teenaged apple-cheeky scion starts messing with demon dope, what *is* a mother to do? Especially if the mother had earlier been married to an Italian mamma's boy, who fathered Joe? 'Neath the seducing Italian moon, the image that gives the movie its name and gave Bertolucci his happy conceit for the film, this particular mother must rescue her son by offering him a sexy mommy instead of a needle.

It sounds quite awful in the telling, though it's exquisite on screen, *gorgeous,* but an infuriating tease. I have roared aloud reading two dozen reviews written in bile by apoplectic critics who take *Luna* as some sort of apology for mother-loving, or son-corrupting, or what-have-you, reviews written to wash away the stain by wiping out the movie: whisk, and it's gone. *Luna,* however, is a colossal put-on, a sumptuously mounted, exceptionally well photographed film — Vittorio Storaro, than whom there are no betters in the business, directed the photography — presenting Jill Clayburgh in a role that rescues her from a succession of parts that have lately threatened to embalm her in frosting, and missing perfection only in the casting of the too-pretty and insufficiently sensual Master Barry. These are the mother and son who, to stay together, almost get laid together, and these, please observe, the Americans who only do such nasty things when they settle down in darkest, poshest Rome.

Can the preposterous dogma of innocence abroad be more subtly, more hilariously, more engagingly exposed for the poppycock it is, than here? Bertolucci wants his audiences to squirm in their seats, to storm out of the theaters mad as hell and resolved not to take any more of this, and maybe, later, when they stop to think about what's been done to them, to finally get the point of the joke and abandon the Idea, once for all. People who'll believe that this neurotic Ur-Mütter and her petulant, self-indulgent son would only show their true stripes abroad, will believe anything. And those who accept the truth—why, they're free.

LR's film critic is Deputy Sheriff of Middlesex County (Massachusetts) and film critic for WNAC-TV (CBS) in Boston. He also hosts New England's leading radio talk program, "The David Brudnoy Show," on WHDH-AM.

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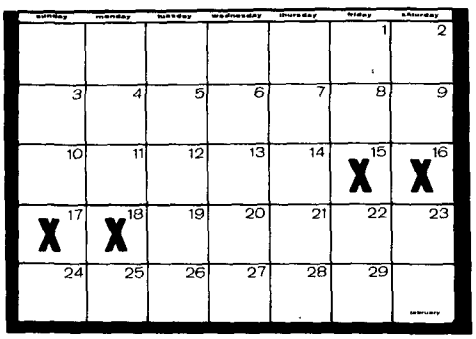

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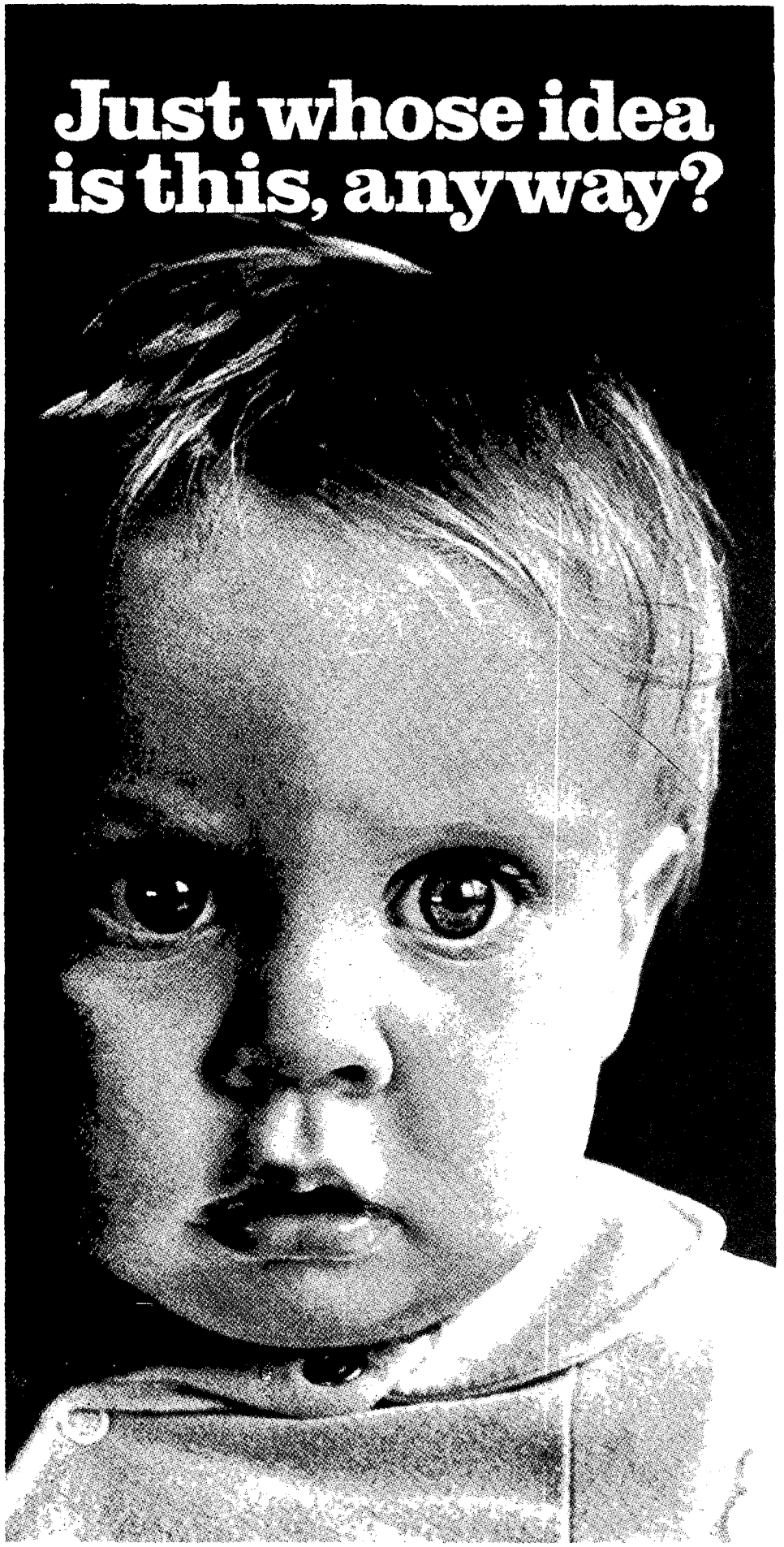

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